A

HISTORY

OF THE

PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

From their first Rise to the present Time.

Compiled from AUTHENTIC RECORDS, and from the WRITINGS of that PEOPLE.

By JOHN GOUGH.

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PREFACE.

THE people who are the ſubjects of the enſuing hiſtory, beſide the great ſufferings in perſon and property they endured at their firſt appearance, from the ſpirit of perſecution, prevalent in that age, were expoſed to another ſpecies of perſecution in ungenerous attacks upon their reputation, through the miſrepreſentations of prejudice; the malignity or ignorance of thoſe, who did not love, or thoſe who did not know them; particularly the public preachers of that æra, too many of whom, provoked at their teſtimony againſt formality, prieſtcraft and preaching for hire; from the pulpit, and from the preſs, publiſhed them to the world under very obnoxious deſcriptions. To theſe, their regard to the reputation of the truth they profeſſed, in-

duced one or other of them to reply, in defence of themſelves and their principles, and it was no difficult taſk for them to diſprove aſſertions, which had no foundation in fact. They proved themſelves to impartial judges guiltleſs of the charges exhibited againſt them, and refuted the fabulous invectives of their antagoniſts, ſo that few or none of theſe early calumnies paſſed unanſwered; added to which, the tried innocency and integrity of their lives giving a more convincing refutation, and religious controverſy at length going out of faſhion, this ſpecies of abuſe ſeemed in proceſs of time to die away, and the world in general to look upon them in a more favourable light, not as deceivers, but as men of ſincerity, probity and virtue.

Yet ſome modern authors of reputation in the learned world have thought it worth their while to revive long refuted calumnies, and debaſe the page of hiſtory with a delineation of this people, copied from the diſtorted caricatures of their bittereſt antagoniſts; the conſideration whereof pointed out the propriety of a new review of their real hiſtory, drawn from authentic memoirs, and genuine records, preſerved in their own archives; that

that by comparing their own accounts of themſelves, with thoſe of their adverſaries, a more impartial judgment may be formed of their real character: That as theſe authors, particularly Moſheim, and Formey after him, have not thought it beneath them to draw from oblivion, long refuted and long forgotten miſrepreſentations of men of worth (if ſolid virtue, and real religion are conſidered as conſtituent parts of worth) an attempt to reſcue deſerving characters, worthy of imitation in the general tenour of their lives, from the contempt and cenſure endeavoured to be thrown upon them, ſeems an act of juſtice, not only to them, but to the world at large.

Incited by theſe conſiderations, the compiler of the enſuing ſheets hath not been diſcouraged by the proſpect of the laborious undertaking, the ſcantineſs of his leiſure, nor his advanced ſtage in life, from engaging in the buſineſs of collecting and digeſting the materials preſerved by them, in the following hiſtory; and although the like laborious taſk hath before employed the pen of William Sewel, yet freſh occaſion being offered, ſeemed to demand a freſh reviſal of the real hiſtory of this people: In the proſecution

ſecution whereof, I propoſe to lay before the reader my objections to thoſe paſſages, which we conſider as miſrepreſentations, partly in notes, as occaſion ariſes from my ſubject, and partly in an appendix to the hiſtory, if my life and health ſhall be prolonged to bring it to a concluſion, towards which it is already conſiderably advanced.

The reader is not to expect, in the hiſtory of this pacific body to meet with a recital of thoſe ſplendid actions, or ſchemes of policy, which are apt to dazzle the eyes of mankind, while they generally contribute very little to the felicity of the greater part, are often productive of great damage and deſtruction to many; and the happineſs they convey to individuals, in the ſplendour of a name, is but a poor recompenſe for the miſchief they occaſion, and but of ſhort duration: But what is of much more importance to the generality of the human race, he will meet with many examples (worthy of imitation) of ſtedfaſt reſolution and inflexible perſeverance in proſecuting through life the great end of our being, happineſs in a future ſtate. But few men have the ability, the power or opportunity of conquering nations or governing

governing kingdoms; but all men have immortal ſouls to be ſaved or loſt, in conſequence of the manner of paſſing the time of their ſojourning here.

For this reaſon I have been more particular in the biography, in the accounts I have collected of the lives and deaths of ſeveral of the moſt ſerviceable members of this ſociety, with deſign to point out the beneficial effects of a life of pure religion and virtue at that ſolemn period, which mocks the ſplendour of triumphs, and lays human honours in the duſt; more with a view to inſpire their ſurvivors with a deſire of copying their virtues, than to build the tombs of the prophets, or garniſh the ſepulchres of the righteous.

I foreſee an objection may poſſibly be made to the partiality of this hiſtory, as being taken from the memoirs and records of the people whoſe hiſtory it is. In many caſes, and this in particular, no other authentic records can be met with, but what are preſerved amongſt the people themſelves; notwithſtanding which, hiſtories founded on ſuch records, have obtained a reception; whilſt thoſe founded on public rumour or uncertain

tain and obſcure tradition obtain but little credit. Who that hath read Moſes's plain account of the deſcendants of Iſrael, regards the fabulous narrative of Juſtin? If we had no accounts of the primitive Chriſtians but in the works of the Gentiles, would not chriſtianity itſelf be contemptible, as well as Quakeriſm ſo called? But with us who are favoured with the writings of the evangeliſts, the acts of the apoſtles, and other records of the primitive Chriſtians themſelves, the Gentile deſcriptions of them are thought worthy of little regard. Societies whoſe virtues have been more active in private life than in the buſtles and notoriety of public affairs, eſcape the public attention, ſo far, as to leave few genuine records of tranſactions in which they are engaged, except ſuch as are preſerved amongſt themſelves.

The authorities I have chiefly followed are William Sewel's hiſtory of this people compared with Joſeph Beſſe's collection of their ſufferings, in the compilation whereof he informs us he "had recourſe "to their own manuſcript records, where-"in is preſerved a genuine account of "ſuch of the ſufferings of their friends "as were tranſmitted to them; and alſo "conſulted

" conſulted ſeveral printed accounts, which " were publiſhed at or near the time of " the tranſactions related." I have been further aſſiſted by the peruſal of the journals of ſeveral members of this ſociety, who have left us memoirs of their lives and travels, and of the tranſactions in which they were engaged: For the account of the ſettlement of this people in Pennſylvania and ſome other parts of America, I am much indebted to the aſſiſtance of my eſteemed friend James Pemberton, and ſome other friends of Philadelphia, who with ſingular induſtry, have procured and furniſhed me with a tranſcript of their hiſtory in manuſcript, drawn up by *Samuel Smith*, but never publiſhed; and other authentic manuſcripts.

In fine, if I have ſucceeded in my endeavours, to avail myſelf of the materials in my hands, ſo judiciouſly as to anſwer the expectations of my friends in a tolerable degree, and to convey ſome ſatisfaction and profitable reflection to the readers in general, my deſign in undertaking this work will not be entirely fruſtrated: If otherwiſe, I hope I ſhall reſt ſatisfied in the conſcious reflection of endeavouring to be of ſome uſefulneſs in life,

life, to dedicate a portion of my time to the ſervice of ſociety, and to promote religious conſideration in an age too much relaxed by diſſipation, by levity of conduct, by ſpiritual indolence, and great forgetfulneſs of the concerns of their immortal part.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

OUR antient friend William Penn (for whoſe writings I have a high eſteem) having given us a conciſe recital of the various religious diſpenſations, and of various profeſſions of chriſtianity, preceding that to which the contemptuous denomination of Quakers was affixed, in his introduction to *the Riſe and Progreſs of that People*, I thought at firſt I could not chuſe a more ſuitable introduction to the enſuing hiſtory than that, enlarged with explanatory and hiſtorical notes: But on further conſideration, the mode I have adopted ſeemed more eligible. I have kept his ſaid introduction in my eye: but have preferred a paraphraſe, before a literal tranſcript with notes, as exhibiting one continued narration, without the frequent breaks, which the other method muſt neceſſarily occaſion.

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INTRODUCTION.

SECT. I.

Of the different Diſpenſations, or Means whereby God hath condeſcended to reveal the Knowledge of himſelf and his Will to Mankind.

THE univerſal conſent of all nations hath been advanced as a proof of the Being of a God: That in almoſt all ages and places of the world, the inhabitants had ſome notions of a Supreme Being; ſome way of worſhip; and ſome ſenſe of religion amongſt them: But the various erroneous notions, imperfect conceptions and abſurd fictions, concerning the ſupreme Being, that religion which recommended man to his favour, and that worſhip which he required at his hand, which have been adopted by all nations whether civilized or not, the Greeks no leſs than the Barbarians, amount to a preſumptive proof of the advantage and neceſſity of a divine revelation, to reſcue men from error, to illuminate their dark underſtand-

SECT. I.

SECT. I.

ings, and to convey more juſt notions of God, of true religion, and acceptable worſhip. Proving the truth of the apoſtle's reaſoning, 1 Cor. ii. 11, 14. "*What man* "*knoweth the things of a man, ſave the Spirit* "*of man, that is in him? even ſo the things of* "*God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God.* "*The natural man knoweth not the things of* "*the Spirit of God; for they are fooliſhneſs* "*unto him; neither can he know them; be-*"*cauſe they are ſpiritually diſcerned.*"

The Creator of man, in his unſearchable wiſdom, hath choſen different means by which to reveal this knowledge of himſelf to different ages of the world: Firſt (according to ſcripture teſtimony) to the Patriarchs by Angels; next to the Jews by the Law of Moſes. "This diſpenſation," ſaith William Penn, "was much outward, "and ſuited to a low and ſervile ſtate, "called therefore by the apoſtle Paul that "of a School-maſter, which was to pre-"pare the people to look and long for the "MESSIAH to deliver them from the ſer-"vitude of a ceremonious and imperfect "diſpenſation, being only the ſhadow of "good things to come, by diſcovering to "them the knowledge of the reality and "ſubſtance of pure religion, typified by "the ſhadowy ceremonies of the law."

W. Penn's riſe and progreſs, &c.

The miniſtration of the prophets was the ſummit of the legal diſpenſation, and more immediately preparatory to the introduction

troduction of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, as more clearly pointing out its nature and advantages above the diſpenſation of the law; and preparing that people for the reception thereof, by repreſenting the legal ceremonies ineffectual to pleaſe God, without ceaſing to do evil and learning to do well. This diſpenſation ended in the miniſtration of John the Baptiſt, the forerunner of the Meſſiah, as John's was finiſhed in him, the fulneſs of all. SECT. I.

Now God, who at ſundry times and in divers manners ſpake to their fathers by his ſervants the Prophets, ſpake to men by his ſon, whom he made heir of all things. And the religion, which this teacher come from heaven introduced, excelled every other, as far as the divine author excelled the ſons of men. I ſhould think it bordering on blaſphemy to bring into any compariſon with it, the vanities of the Gentiles, who knew not God: But a ſhort view thereof, compared with the Moſaic diſpenſation, may conduce to the elucidation of its ſuperior excellency.

The law of Moſes was an outward and partial law, written on tables of ſtone; the grace and truth which came by Jeſus Chriſt was an inward and univerſal law, written on the living tables of the hearts of men. The diſpenſation of the Goſpel being the new covenant propheſied of by Jeremiah: "And it ſhall come to paſs in Jer. xxxi. "the 31, 33.

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" the laſt days, ſaith the Lord, that I will " make a *new Covenant* with the houſe of " Iſrael and with the houſe of Judah—I " will write my law in their hearts, and " put my ſpirit in their inward parts," &c.

Under the legal diſpenſation the worſhip of God was more particularly reſtricted to the temple at Jeruſalem built of ſtone; but this reſtricted worſhip was aboliſhed under the univerſal Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, being to be no longer confined to time or place; neither to Jeruſalem, nor to the mountain of Samaria; but the true worſhip of God was to be performed in ſpirit and in truth. God was now declared not to dwell in temples made with hands, but in the living temples of the purified hearts of true believers. The law of Moſes as an outward law reached the outward action; the Goſpel of Chriſt as a ſpiritual diſpenſation laid the axe to the root of the corrupt tree, to manifeſt and deſtroy ſin in its firſt conception in the heart, in the root and ground thereof: " His fan is in his hand," ſaid John, " and he will thoroughly purge " his floor." The law of Moſes made not the comers thereunto perfect as pertaining to the conſcience; but the bringing in of a better hope did. The inſide of the cup and platter was to be cleanſed, that the outſide might be clean alſo. Thus the Goſpel appears in its direct tendency

dency designed to rectify the heart, and purify the conscience from the corruptions of human nature, that the efficient cause of sin and evil being destroyed, the effect may cease; and the tree being made good, the fruit thereof may be good also, that is if the heart be made right in the sight of God, the whole conversation of consequence will be unspotted, and productive of every religious, social and moral virtue. SECT. I.

Thus the Christian religion in its original purity, as it was delivered to the world by its divine author and his apostles, carrieth in it the plain marks of its divine origin; as being calculated to answer the important ends of true religion, according to the prophetic anthem of the heavenly host, in the prospect of the great benefits it would confer on the human race, *Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace, good will to men.* It is plain, practical and spiritual; not a system of nice speculations, accommodated only to the understandings of the narrow circle of the wise and the learned of this world; but of important and practical truths adapted to the comprehension of common capacities, as being designed for the common benefit of mankind; not amuse the heads, but to amend the hearts of men: To instruct all who are sincere in their enquiry after salvation, in the most excellent

SECT. I.

cellent wiſdom, and moſt ſolid virtue, for the attainment thereof. It aboliſhed the ceremonial part of the law, which was to continue but for a ſeaſon, refineth and eſtabliſheth the moral part, as being in its nature of perpetual obligation, reſolving it into two very comprehenſive, but very intelligible precepts, viz. "Thou ſhalt "love the Lord thy God with all thy "heart, with all thy ſoul, with all thy "mind, and with all thy ſtrength, and "thy neighbour as thy ſelf." "Whatſo-"ever ye would that men ſhould do to "you, do ye even ſo unto them."

Notwithſtanding the evident importance and advantages of the doctrines of the Goſpel, the propenſities of human nature inclining men to ſenſual gratifications, and ſelfiſh indulgencies, in a direct oppoſition to the tenour of theſe doctrines, He, who knoweth all things, knowing this, lays it down as a radical principle requiſite in a Chriſtian, *to take up his croſs daily, deny himſelf, and follow him.* And for his direction and aſſiſtance in reducing this doctrine to practice, hath, by his mediation and interceſſion, procured for him the Gift of the Holy Spirit and Grace of God, both to illuminate his darkened underſtanding with the clear diſcovery of ſin and evil, in its conception in the heart; and to aſſiſt him to ſubdue his natural propenſity thereto. "The Law was given

John i. 17.

"by

" by Moſes; but Grace and Truth came SECT.
" by Jeſus Chriſt." " If I go not away, I.
" the Comforter will not come; but if I John xiv.
" go away, I will pray the Father, and 17.
" he will ſend you another Comforter,
" even the Spirit of Truth, whom the
" world cannot receive, becauſe it ſeeth
" him not, neither knoweth him; but ye xv. 13.
" know him, for he is with you and ſhall
" be *in* you." " When the Spirit of
" Truth is come he will guide you into all
" truth."

To theſe great and beneficial ends of the diſpenſation of the Son of God did the Apoſtles bear teſtimony, whom he had choſen, and qualified by his ſpirit, to turn the Jews from their prejudice and ſuperſtition, and the Gentiles from their vanity and idolatry, to the light and ſpirit of Chriſt, that they might be quickened from the ſins and tranſgreſſions in which they were dead, to ſerve the Lord in the newneſs of the ſpirit of life. It was upon this inward principle, which cleanſes the inſide by the waſhing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghoſt, that they endeavoured to build up and eſtabliſh the primitive believers, as the ſureſt foundation of real piety and moral rectitude. The primitive Chriſtians were of conſequence eminently diſtinguiſhed for a purity and integrity of life, repreſenting the eſſence of Chriſtianity not to conſiſt

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ſiſt in refined ſpeculation or elegant expreſſion, but in living well, exemplifying their faith in Chriſt by an uniform obſervance of his divine precepts; and approving themſelves (by walking in the light) children of the light, born not of the will of the fleſh, nor of the will of man, but of the will of God, by doing his will, and denying their own.

Through the ſucceſsful and effectual labours of the Apoſtles the Church maintained her brightneſs during their age, being dignified with all the beauty of holineſs, as a city ſet upon a hill her light ſhed a luſtre, attracting both Jews and Gentiles to the ſenſe and love of truth; the multitude of Chriſtians encreaſed greatly. Yet even during that age ſome ſymptoms of declenſion were diſcovered, of which theſe faithful paſtors were not wanting to give timely warning to the believers, as well as of a greater degeneracy, which they foreſaw would overſpread the Church to eclipſe the brightneſs thereof. As the Apoſtle Paul, in his firſt epiſtle to Timothy, "Now the ſpirit ſpeaketh expreſsly, that in the latter times ſome ſhall depart from the faith, giving heed to ſeducing ſpirits and doctrines of devils; ſpeaking lies in hypocriſy, having their conſciences ſeared, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abſtain from meats." And

1 Tim. iv. 1, 2, 3.

in

in his epiſtle to the Theſſalonians, cautioning them not to be troubled, as if the day of the Lord was at hand, he adds, SECT. I.

" That day ſhall not come, except there come a falling away firſt, and the man of ſin be revealed, the ſon of perdition." 2 Theſſ. ii. 3.

The apoſtle Peter alſo expreſſeth a clear foreſight of a future apoſtacy:

" There were falſe prophets among the people, even as there ſhall be falſe teachers among you, who privily ſhall bring in damnable hereſies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themſelves ſwift deſtruction; and through covetouſneſs ſhall they with feigned words make merchandize of you." 2 Pet. ii. 1, 3.

SECT. II.

Of the gradual Declenſion and Apoſtacy of the profeſſed and viſible Church.

THESE predictions were ſoon verified by the conſequential degeneracy of the Chriſtian Church, from the internal life of godlineſs into external obſervations of days and meats; into uſeleſs ceremonies and unimportant debates. As early as the ſecond century we find the churches of the Eaſt and Weſt involved in a warm diſpute SECT. II.

SECT. II.

diſpute upon a point of no greater conſequence than whether Eaſter ſhould be celebrated on the day whereon the Jews celebrated the paſſover, according to the law of Moſes, or on the firſt day of the ſucceeding week. Frivolous as the ſubject of this controverſy was, it was carried on with as much zeal and earneſtneſs as if the preſent and future happineſs of mankind depended thereupon; and ſo great was the animoſity it occaſioned, that Victor, biſhop of Rome, excommunicated, or threatened to excommunicate, the Aſiatic churches, becauſe they diſſented from his deciſion.

The fourth century produced a revolution in the Chriſtian Church which, in its conſequences, brought on an almoſt total reverſe to the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and the doctrines of his apoſtles. Conſtantine, emperor of Rome, embraced the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, whereby that profeſſion, from an object of perſecution, averſion and contempt, became the religion in vogue. The Gentile prieſts, and people of courſe, adopted this profeſſion, not ſo much from a conſcientious conviction of the truth and purity thereof, as from the frivolous motive of complying with the faſhion, or the more unchriſtian motives of ſecuring and advancing their ſecular intereſts, or gratifying their luſt of power. Theſe pagan prieſts, accuſtomed

Formey.

tomed to a ceremonious and pompous religion, introduced the impure mixture into the Chriſtian Church, before too much declined: But from this period corruption overſpread to an extenſive degree. "An attachment to heatheniſh and "jewiſh ceremonies, the introduction of "images into the public places of wor-"ſhip, the canonizing and invoking of "ſaints," and reverſing Chriſtianity into idolatry, from which it is moſt abhorrent, are flagrant inſtances that Chriſtianity, thus metamorphoſed, had no title to the character of the Church of Chriſt, being in its ſpirit and tendency the very reverſe thereof. SECT. II.

Yet though the viſible church had loſt the nature, ſhe endeavoured to keep up her good name of *The True Church*, and mother of the faithful. Her biſhops and prieſts having, many of them, adopted the profeſſion of Chriſtianity from worldly motives, manifeſted their converſion to be only in name, their minds remained worldly ſtill. They were more intent upon recommending worſhip by oſtentatious pomp and ſplendour, to catch the eyes of men, than the humility and ſincerity of heart, which in the church's original ſtate of purity had made it acceptable to God. What now continued to be profeſſed for the Chriſtian religion degenerated into form, and even that form became W. Penn.

SECT. II.

became exceedingly marred by the introduction of unedifying ceremonies and inſignificant obſervations. Then human invention took the ſeat of divine wiſdom, human policy was ſubſtituted for divine Grace, the ordination of men in the ſtead of the call of the Holy Ghoſt, and temporal revenues, powers and honours became more ſought after than divine favour.

Not very long after another incident ſucceeded, which encreaſed the degeneracy and diſtractions of the viſible church, viz. the irruption of the northern nations of Europe into the Roman empire, marking their progreſs with deſolation and deſtruction by fire and ſword wherever they came; perfect ſtrangers to decorum and civilization, what religion they had was idolatry of the groſſeſt kind, or a profeſſion of Chriſtianity little better: Idolatry, paganiſm and groſs ignorance again overſpread all Europe, and for a ſeaſon overran the nations thereof, ſo that even the name and profeſſion of Chriſtianity became greatly obſcured. After the Goths and Vandals, and the other northern invaders, had ſubdued all oppoſition, they ſettled down quietly in their conqueſts, having left no enemy able to withſtand or oppoſe them; and by this means the ſtates returning to a ſettlement, though an imperfect one, the monks and other

other eccleſiaſtics, about the ſeventh century, employed themſelves zealouſly to convert theſe pagan nations to the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, and met with conſiderable ſucceſs; but the doctrines which they taught, and the ends which they had in view, were very different from the purity of the apoſtolick age, the heavenly doctrines of Chriſtianity being vaſtly corrupted by the impure mixture of ſuperſtition; and the end in view being the advancement of clerical intereſt and power, they chiefly influenced their converts to ſubmiſſion to the power of the Pope, and liberality to the prieſthood. SECT. II.

The effect of their labours, and the temper of their converts, as they are deſcribed by an eminent hiſtorian, evince the nature of their doctrines: "The barbarous nations, when converted to "Chriſtianity, changed the object, not "the ſpirit of their religious worſhip. "They endeavoured to conciliate the fa"vour of the true God by means not "unlike to thoſe they had employed to "appeaſe their falſe deities. Inſtead of "aſpiring to ſanctity and virtue, which "alone can render men acceptable to the "great author of order and excellence, "they imagined they ſatisfied every obli"gation of duty by a ſcrupulous obſer"vance of external ceremonies. Religion, "according to their conception of it, comprehended Robertſon.

SECT. II.

" prehended nothing elſe; and the rites " by which they perſuaded themſelves " they could gain the favour of heaven, " were of ſuch a nature as might have " been expected from the rude ideas of " the ages which deviſed and introduced " them. They were either ſo unmeaning " as to be altogether unworthy of the Di- " vine Being to whoſe honour they were " conſecrated, or ſo abſurd as to be a diſ- " grace to reaſon and humanity."

This was another revolution in the viſible church, which encreaſed her degeneracy, eclipſed her beauty, and eſtabliſhed a kingdom of prieſts. Theſe barbarians, groſsly ignorant themſelves, deſtroyed the monuments of literature and ſcience in their way, as objects of little value with them, and introduced a general barbarity wherever they ſettled: " The human " mind, uncultivated and depreſſed, ſunk " into profound ignorance." In this age of intellectual darkneſs, the brightneſs of the chriſtian religion ſuffered an additional eclipſe, for " although its precepts are " delivered in ſcripture with a preciſion " which ſhould prevent their being wreſted " or corrupted," yet a body of men, who from the higheſt to the loweſt could few of them write or read, could draw no intelligence of duty from that fountain, but ſimply reſted upon the word of the prieſt for inſtruction. And notwithſtanding

Robertſon.

ing the prieſts were, for the moſt part, involved in the general gloom and ignorance, inſomuch that many of them did not underſtand the breviary they were obliged daily to recite, and ſeveral of them could not read it, they had nevertheleſs the craft to avail themſelves of the ignorance and prejudices of the people, to procure the guidance of their conſciences, emoluments and power to their own order, and a ſuperſtitious veneration to their perſons. SECT. II.

From this time eccleſiaſtical hiſtory (too much ſullied before) becomes deformed with inſtances of ambition, avarice, political intrigues, perſecution, cruelty and revenge, (qualities diametrically oppoſite to the purity and nature of Chriſtianity) in an equal or ſuperior degree to the annals of moſt ſecular kingdoms. "The "biſhops in general, who had the chief "authority in church affairs, had, for a "ſucceſſion of ages, loſt daily more and "more the proper qualifications of over-"ſeers in the Church of Chriſt, true piety "and ancient ſimplicity of manners; and "were ſo taken up with the deſire of en-"larging their pretenſions and preroga-"tives, that the promotion of pure reli-"gion, or the ſalvation of thoſe ſouls "committed to their charge, ſeems to "have been the leaſt of their concern. "Nor were they content with graſping "moſt Formey.

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" moſt or all the power and poſſeſſions of " their reſpective ſees into their own " hands, but by the impulſe of their un- " bounded ambition they entered into " ſhameful and unchriſtian contentions " with each other for pre-eminence in " dignity, and ſupremacy in power."

Formey. " The ſees of Alexandria, Rome and " Conſtantinople became, in a ſhort time " after Conſtantine's public profeſſion of " the Chriſtian faith, poſſeſſed of ſo much " power and wealth, that to gain poſſeſ- " ſion of them engaged the emulous ef- " forts of the principal eccleſiaſtics; and " the means employed to attain their de- " ſire were as irreconcileable to the pure " principles of Chriſtianity as the object " thereof, being frequently purſued by " indirect means, frequently by violence " and force of arms. And in a like man- " ner they poſſeſſed them in too general a " way, living on the ſpoil of the churches " in ſplendor and luxury, inconſiſtent with " the humility and temperance preſcribed " by the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt."

The biſhops of Rome, through the favour and aſſiſtance of the weſtern potentates, ſucceeded at length in the ſtruggle for ſupremacy, in claiming and procuring to themſelves the titles of *Univerſal Biſhop*, *Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt*, and *Infallible Head of the Church*. Theſe claims, chimerical in themſelves, and quite oppoſite to the genius

nius of the Chriſtian religion, could hardly have been advanced with any reaſonable proſpect of eſtabliſhing them, but in ſuch an age of groſs ignorance and credulity as this: Yet on theſe viſionary foundations the eccleſiaſticks found means to raiſe a ſuperſtructure of prieſtly dominion, which not only gave to the papal decrees a ſanction and obedience from all degrees of people, as divine and infallible oracles, but made even kings and emperors feel the effects of the plenitude of that power, which they had artfully eſtabliſhed over the conſciences and underſtandings of mankind. SECT. II.

Splendour and magnificence, the attendants of ambition, are generally the parents of avarice, as they create many unneceſſary wants, and much ſuperfluity of expence; the clergy, therefore, were not wanting to turn the influence they had acquired to their own ſecular advantage, by a continual augmentation of their property as well as their power. In the primitive church, as in all viſible ſocieties, it was neceſſary to raiſe ſome contributions for the public uſes of the church, of which the ſupport of the poor, and the public edifices, ſeem to be the principal part: Theſe contributions were purely voluntary, and the diſtribution thereof entruſted to the deacons, the apoſtles having aſſigned this charge to them. And as they were

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content with food and raiment, their demands upon the public ſtock were proportionably moderate, if any. Their principal concern was to gain ſouls to Chriſt, not to extort or ſecure property to themſelves. They ſought not theirs, but them.

Foſter in reply to the Biſhop of London's Codex.

The church continued for ſome ages to defray the neceſſary expences, by the voluntary contributions of its members, and while ſhe was under a ſtate of ſuffering and perſecution it is natural to ſuppoſe ſhe was preſerved in humility and heavenly mindedneſs: for what could nouriſh pride in men treated with univerſal contempt and hatred, as the ſcum and off-ſcouring of all things? what temptation could they have to enlarge their worldly proſpects, who lived every hour in jeopardy? or what could ſupport them under the cruel perſecutions they were expoſed to, or enable them, in teſtimony to the truth in which they moſt ſurely believed, to meet a violent death in all its terrors and tortures with calm fortitude and religious joy, but a mind redeemed from the earth, and panting for the full fruition of happineſs in a future ſtate? This temper of mind reduced their wants within narrow limits, which were eaſily ſatisfied: And being connected in goſpel fellowſhip by the ſtrong bonds of mutual benevolence and brotherly kindneſs, they who had to ſpare communicated to the wants of the church

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and of their brethren, according to their abilities with liberality. SECT. II.

But when Chriſtianity, from a ſtate of perſecution became the reigning religion of the empire, and the church was enriched with ſecular poſſeſſions; when princes and nobles had adopted the Chriſtian profeſſion, and a notion was artfully propagated, that munificence to the church would atone for ſin, and purchaſe future felicity, and the great found it eaſier to give freely than live well, her poſſeſſions vaſtly encreaſed by donations of lands, and pecuniary oblations: But as her portion encreaſed, her beauty decayed. They whoſe office ſhould have been exerciſed, after the original pattern, in diligent labour and vigilance to prevent the introduction, and overſpreading of corruption in the church, became no leſs conſpicuous for their avarice than their ambition. The biſhops, as it might ſeem, in order to get the revenues of the church into their poſſeſſion, relieved the deacons from the charge of the adminiſtration, and took it upon themſelves. When the biſhops of Rome, aſſuming the title of Univerſal Biſhop, affected the ſtate of ſecular princes, they ſoon found means to appropriate the lands of the church of Rome to the ſee. Other biſhops ſoon followed their example, and engroſſed to themſelves the patrimony of the churches under their Foſter.

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care, of conſequence, the poor and other neceſſary charges of the church, were but ſcantily provided for.

Amongſt the reſt the inferior orders of the clergy, who were dependent on the biſhops, had been deſtitute of ſupport by other means, than their portion of the income of the church lands. It ſeemed neceſſary to deviſe means for their ſupport, independent of this income, and with that view they caſt their eyes upon the tithe of the produce of lands, after the Jewiſh model; theſe were accordingly preached up with remarkable zeal: "So "that during ſome centuries (ſaith a mo- "dern hiſtorian) the whole ſcope of ho- "milies and ſermons was directed to in- "fluence the people to punctuality in "paying them; and one would have ima- "gined, from the general tenor of theſe "diſcourſes, that all the practical parts "of Chriſtianity were comprehended in "the exact and faithful payment of tithes "to the clergy." In addition to this extenſive revenue, various other pretexts were contrived to encreaſe it ſtill more: Purgatory, penance, diſpenſations, indulgences, were crafty impoſitions upon the credulity of theſe dark ages to extort gain to the prieſthood: The living were deceived into liberality; and the dying, in their weakeſt moments of deſpondency and approaching diſſolution, were beſet by deſigning

Hume.

ſigning eccleſiaſtics, to obtain bequeſts under the notion of purchaſing a communion of the good works of the church, in order to encreaſe the eſtate and revenue thereof. SECT. II.

About the end of the thirteenth century the apoſtacy was come to the height. There appeared little in the profeſſing Chriſtian church which bare any reſemblance to the religion of Chriſt and his apoſtles. The holy ſcriptures being locked up in an unknown tongue, beyond the comprehenſion of the ignorant people of this illiterate age, they were deprived of theſe means of diſcovering the traces of pure Chriſtianity, and the corruptions which had crept into the church. They had no means of knowing what Chriſtianity was but through the corrupt repreſentations of their teachers. The rules of their conduct were not the ſacred precepts of the Goſpel, but the decrees of Popes; and innovations, and unmeaning fancies of viſionary Monks; which, inſtead of promoting the true ſpirit of religion, appear ſtudiouſly calculated to draw off the human mind from reſearches of this nature, as ſuch enquiries muſt have a tendency to detect the deceptions of theſe (apparently pious) impoſtors.

Yet as in the pureſt ages of the church there were ſome members who were not ſincere and ſteadfaſt in the faith, or fell away

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away therefrom, ſo in the moſt corrupted ſtate thereof, I believe, there were ſeveral who, through all the miſt of ignorance and ſuperſtition, were faithful according to their knowledge, and ſincerely diſpoſed to do the will of God, as far as they could diſcover it; but being few were hidden and obſcure. "For it was now," ſaith William Penn, "the true church fled into "the wilderneſs, that is from ſuperſtition "and violence, to a retired, ſolitary and "lonely ſtate, hidden, and out of the "ſight of men. In this ſtate many at-"tempts ſhe made to return, but the wa-"ters yet too high blocked up her way, "and many of her excellent children in "ſeveral nations fell by the cruelty of "ſuperſtition, becauſe they would not fall "from their faithfulneſs to the truth."

Riſe and Progreſs.

SECT. III.

Of the gradual Advancement of the Reformation.

SECT. III.

EVEN during theſe ages of groſs darkneſs there aroſe a few individuals endued with light and ſenſe to diſcern the enormities abounding in the church, fortitude to bear their teſtimony againſt them, and fidelity to ſeal their teſtimony with their

their blood. For the general darkneſs was too groſs as yet to admit a full diſplay of light, and the dominion of prieſtcraft over the conſciences of the people ſo riveted, and its power ſo firmly fixed, that every attempt to remonſtrate againſt corruption, and to let light into the minds of the people, whereby the ſources of the wealth and power of the prieſthood might be in danger of being exhauſted, was fruſtrate, and generally terminated in the puniſhment of thoſe who made ſuch attempts with death. For the viſible church of thoſe ages, that ſhe might manifeſt her variance with the true church of Chriſt in all her fruits, in her treatment of thoſe who oppoſed her doctrines, or expoſed the futility of her claims, gave a ſcope to her vindictive reſentments in the exerciſe of unparalleled cruelty, not only oppoſite to the meekneſs and forbearance preſcribed by the doctrines of the goſpel, but diſguſtful to the feelings of common humanity. SECT. III.

In the 12th century Peter Waldo, a citizen of Lyons, about the year 1140, applying himſelf to the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, and finding therein no grounds for ſeveral of the popiſh doctrines and practices, publicly oppoſed them. He tranſlated the ſcriptures into the vulgar language, and from them taught and inculcated a doctrine much more conforma- Formey.

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ble to the goſpel of Chriſt than that profeſſed in the Roman church. His followers were denominated Vaudois or Waldenſes. In the ſame century aroſe another body of men of like ſentiments, who alſo perceiving the palpable errors and ſhameful vices of the Romaniſts, thought it their duty to ſeparate from their communion, and to exert their endeavours for a reformation. Theſe were the Albigenſes, who were ſo named from Albi, a conſiderable town of Languedoc, near which Peter and Henry Bruys, the firſt preachers of this ſect, formed their aſſemblies.

The popes and the clergy, having long enjoyed an uninterrupted dominion over the conſciences of mankind, as far as their power extended, and ſtopped up the avenues of free enquiry, by implanting in the human mind an implicit truſt in their doctrines and decrees, were very much alarmed and exaſperated at theſe efforts to caſt off the yoke, and unveil the myſtery of iniquity. And accordingly made theſe Vaudois and Albigenſes feel the weight of their reſentment in all its ſtrength and violence. Moſt of their teachers were dragged to the ſtake; and it was only the encreaſing number and power of their adherents, rendering them formidable, which for the preſent reſcued them from ſharing the ſame fate.

But

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But in the ſucceeding century, under the deſpotic papacy of Innocent III. whoſe haughtineſs made kings and emperors ſubmit to his imperious ſway, a cruel and bloody war, to which the blaſphemous appellation of the *Holy War* was affixed, in order to enflame and deceive the people, was raiſed and carried on by the inſtigation of the pope and his dependant eccleſiaſtics, who called in the force of arms againſt theſe Vaudois and Albigenſes to gratify their implacable averſion: They invited the princes to aſſiſt them, particularly Philip Auguſtus, King of France. They raiſed numerous troops, who ſet up the croſs*, indulgences were freely

* The Croſs was the badge worn by thoſe who engaged in the Cruſades, or wars undertaken againſt the infidels to diſpoſſeſs them of the Holy Land (ſo called). Theſe wars were termed *holy*, and thoſe who engaged in them (beſides many other privileges) were perſuaded that they were engaged in the cauſe of heaven, and under its immediate protection: They received a plenary indulgence for the remiſſion of all their ſins, &c. In imitation of theſe appendages of the Cruſades, thoſe of this war were aſſumed; to fix an impreſſion on the minds of the men employed therein, that they were embarqued in a ſacred cauſe; that their exertions therein would atone for their ſins, and that the gates of heaven were open to ſuch as ſhould fall in the holy warfare. By ſuch artifices the Pope and his Clergy raiſed armies in their cauſe, regardleſs of the guilt of ſanctifying the moſt flagitious crimes, under colour of means to obtain eternal happineſs. Formey writes, "Amongſt the "moſt zealous promoters of this war, called HOLY, but that "in reality was moſt execrable, we find Dominick Guzman "a Spaniard, who founded the order of Preachers called Do-"minicans, and contrived the dreadful tribunal of the inquiſi-"tion: And Francis of Aſiſſes, who, about the ſame time,

"gave

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freely given, and the war was carried on with cruelty almoſt unequalled, in order to effect the entire extirpation of theſe ſects: But they failed of accompliſhing this deſign; for their barbarous treatment of ſuch of the Vaudois as fell into their hands ſtruck the reſt with ſuch horror, that when they were reduced by war, ſo as to be unequal to further reſiſtance, they avoided the tortures deſigned for them, by diſperſing, and ſpreading themſelves and their tenets in different parts of Europe, Divine Providence ſo ordering it, that by theſe means the ſeeds of the reformation were widely ſcattered.

The next eſſay towards a reformation, which claims our attention, took its riſe in England, through divine goodneſs one of the firſt ſtates of Europe favoured with the dawn of the light of reformation. John Wickliffe, rector of Lutterworth in Leiceſterſhire, lived in the latter end of the reign of Edward III. and the beginning of that of Richard II. about 130 years before Luther, a man of good underſtanding, great courage, and ſolid piety. The doctrine he publicly preached was directly oppoſite to the received notions. He

Formey.

" gave riſe to the order of Minorites or Franciſcans. Theſe " two men were afterwards ranked by the Catholics in the " number of their Saints, and not undeſervedly, if the moſt " bloody fury, and the moſt extravagant notions, could give " them a right to ſanctity."

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He particularly inſiſted on the vices of the prieſts, the tyranny of the court of Rome, and the inſatiable avarice of the monks, who invaded every thing; and perſevered with great zeal and intrepidity to oppoſe ſuperſtition and unmaſk hypocriſy. Being appointed by Edward III. one of the members of an embaſſy ſent in 1373 to Pope Gregory at Avignon, to remonſtrate againſt the heavy taxes with which England was burthened by the popes, he was furniſhed with an opportunity of ſeeing the papal court, obſerving the nature of its policy, and the licentiouſneſs of its morals, at which he conceived much diſguſt, perſuading himſelf it was the ſee of Antichriſt.

He applied himſelf with diligence to the ſtudy of the ſacred writings, and was the firſt who tranſlated them into Engliſh. From this ſource drawing purer inſtruction concerning the nature and ſpirit of the Chriſtian religion than that which was conveyed through the vitiated channel of the clerical doctrines and expoſitions of thoſe times, he clearly perceived the nullity of various papal pretenſions; that the Pope had no valid claim to infallibility; that the power he had aſſumed over all the church, and over the princes of Chriſtendom, was a mere groundleſs impoſition, without authority from reaſon or revelation. He oppoſed the worſhiping of

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of ſaints and images, indulgences, the celibacy of the clergy, the doctrines of tranſubſtantiation, and auricular confeſſion. He maintained that the New Teſtament was a perfect rule of faith and manners, and therefore ought not to be kept from the people, but divulged amongſt them that they might read it; and that tithes were pure alms, which ſhould not be extorted by compulſion, but accepted as the voluntary oblations of the donor. His doctrines thus derived from the ſame original, viz. the ſcriptures, and the practice of the primitive church, are repreſented to be nearly the ſame with thoſe propagated by the reformers in the ſixteenth century.

Notwithſtanding this bold and open oppoſition to doctrines and practices, which had paſſed for certain and reaſonable, and received the ſanction of the aſſent and approbation of ſeveral ages, this reformer was favoured beyond the preceding reformers, to eſcape the puniſhment of his hereſy, as it was termed, and died of a ſtroke of the palſy in the year 1385, at his rectory of Lutterworth. This was not owing to any relenting temper or tenderneſs in the eccleſiaſtics: They wanted power more than inclination to puniſh the man who had the audacity to undermine their credit and authority. It was a great mortification to them that he had eſcaped

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their vengeance while living, which they wreaked upon his memory and reputation after his death, blaſphemouſly and maliciouſly aſſerting that he was gone into eternal damnation, and that his laſt diſtemper was a judgment upon him for his manifold hereſies and impieties *. Beſides this, eccleſiaſtical malice, unlimited in cruelty, and unabated by time, vented itſelf in a ridiculous and ſenſeleſs perſecution of his remains, his body being dug up and burned by a decree of the council of Conſtance forty years after his deceaſe. The ſame council condemned to the flames two Bohemian diſciples of his, John Hus and Jerome of Prague, in violation of good faith, they having attended the ſaid council under promiſe of protection by the emperor's ſafe conduct. SECT. III.

Edward the IIId. a prince of great wiſdom and fortitude, had penetration to perceive the pernicious tendency of the papal encroachments, and the nullity of their pretenſions to revenues and dominion in England; and the ſpirit to with-hold the one and withſtand the other. And this ſpirit in the prince ſeems to have ſpread amongſt

* What theſe impieties were, we may eaſily apprehend; when we conſider that what paſt for religion at this Æra was devotion to the intereſts of the Clergy, and veneration to their order. For as to his moral conduct we are informed that "Wickliffe himſelf, as well as his diſciples, was diſtinguiſhed "by a remarkable auſterity of life and manners." Hume, Vol. III. p. 56.

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Hume.

amongſt the people, which opened the way for the reception of Wickliffe's doctrines, amidſt a general diſcontent at the uſurpations both of the pope and their own prieſts. Above the reſt John of Ghent, Duke of Lancaſter, brother to the King, and during the minority of Richard regent of the kingdom, encouraged his principles, and protected his perſon againſt the vindictive meaſures of the clergy, to bring him to puniſhment, which they repeatedly attempted, but were diſappointed of effecting their purpoſe. Such was the diſpoſition of the nation at this time, that the proſelytes to his doctrines, who received the appellations of Wickliffites and Lollards, became very numerous; and although the prieſts in the ſucceeding reigns regained power to perſecute them with violence, they could not thoroughly eradicate the principles he had propagated from the minds of many of the people of England; who were thereby prepared more readily to fall in with the more extenſive reformation of the following age.

When the profeſſors of Chriſtianity in the papacy of Urban II. in the eleventh century, were almoſt univerſally ſeized with the extravagant paſſion of recovering Paleſtine out of the hands of the infidels, and reſolved upon thoſe expeditions, which were diſtinguiſhed by the denomination of Cruſades, from the ſtandard of the croſs

croſs erected by the pope, and the ſign thereof worn by the ſoldiers employed therein, the pope and the clergy, actuated by an extraordinary zeal to forward this pious undertaking (as they would have it eſteemed) amongſt other immunities and privileges granted thoſe who ſhould engage therein a plenary indulgence, and remiſſion of all their ſins. The gates of heaven (they were made to believe) were ſet open to them, without any other proof of their penitence than engaging in theſe expeditions. The prevalent effect of theſe indulgences upon the ſuperſtitious imaginations of the people, in bringing vaſt numbers to enliſt under the banner of the croſs, encouraged the eccleſiaſtics to continue them after the Cruſades were laid aſide, on every future occaſion of ſuppreſſing all who became obnoxious to eccleſiaſtical power, under the notion of *heretics*, a term of reproach and odium applied to all ſuch as expoſed the futility of their uſurpation of power over the conſciences and rights of mankind. Their wars againſt the Vaudois, it hath been remarked, they termed *holy*, in imitation of the Cruſades, and like indulgences were promiſed to the adventurers therein.

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But theſe indulgences were not confined meerly to the purpoſe of encouraging religious wars: When the prieſts and monks had

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had wrought upon the ſuperſtitious minds of their followers, to bring them into the deluſive perſuaſion of the efficacy of them, they converted them into a very lucrative and ſcandalous traffic, which obtained and gained ground till the popedom of Leo X. a man more celebrated for a taſte in literature and elegance, and the encouragement thereof, than for experience in religion, or promoting it in purity: The liberality of his diſpoſition, and his affectation of great ſplendour and magnificence, ran him into a profuſion of expence, to which even the revenues of the papal ſee were inadequate. So that in order to provide a more ample ſupply, he reſorted, amongſt other means, to a ſale of indulgences; the diſperſing of which in Saxony was committed to one Tetzel, a Dominican friar. This man and his aſſociates ſcandalized the more ſerious and thinking part of the people, both by the extravagance of their aſſertions in favour of their merchandize, and by the licentiouſneſs of their morals. Martin Luther, an Auguſtine monk, offended at Tetzel's abſurd and wicked aſſertions in recommendation of his wares, ſtood forth in open oppoſition thereto, and in his ſermons and writings zealouſly endeavoured to open the peoples eyes to diſcern the fraudulence and impiety of this impoſition. The groſs darkneſs of the night of apoſtacy

apoſtacy was drawing to an end, wherein mankind had been artfully kept in ignorance of their rights and real intereſt; and the dawning of clearer light was faſt advancing, and opening the underſtandings and minds of many for the more ready reception of the purer doctrines of the goſpel. Luther's doctrines gained ground in Germany, in ſpite of the united efforts of the ſecular and eccleſiaſtical powers. Even the Pope's Bull, which had been ſo formidable to the greateſt potentates, made little impreſſion on Luther and his followers; he diſregarded all their menaces, and attempts to ſtop his progreſs; and being ſupported by ſundry princes of the empire, particularly the Electors of Saxony, he proceeded ſtrenuouſly and undauntedly in the work of reformation, in which he was effectually ſeconded by Philip Melancthon; and ſoon after Zuinglius embarking in the ſame cauſe in Switzerland, the principles of theſe reformers ſpread widely through Germany, and from thence through other parts of Europe. SECT. III.

In England the ſparks of light kindled in many hearts by the preceding labours of John Wickliffe in the cauſe of reformation, which had been ſmothered rather than extinguiſhed by the perſecutions to which the Lollards were expoſed, revived

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by means of ſeveral works of the German reformers tranſlated into Engliſh. William Tindal and ſome others, who were inclined to the reformation, dreading the effects of King Henry's arbitrary temper, had fled to Antwerp: During their abode there, beſides other books againſt the corruptions of the Church of Rome, Tindal employed himſelf in tranſlating the ſcriptures into the Engliſh language; theſe books they ſent into England privately, and by that means made many converts: But the pertinacious jealouſy, which the Romiſh eccleſiaſtics entertained of divulging the Bible in the vulgar tongue, betrays a conſciouſneſs that the dominion they had eſtabliſhed upon the ſuperſtitions, and the credulity of ignorance, would not bear the teſt of reaſon enlightened by revelation: And that while they were pretending to inſtruct the people in religion, and artfully making it the ſupporter of their uſurped prerogatives, they dreaded nothing more than that the people ſhould be ſupplied with the means of becoming acquainted with the pure ſource of religious truth, exhibited in theſe ſacred records.

The Biſhops ſtrenuouſly decried Tindal's tranſlation, as abounding in errors to that degree that it was not fit to be corrected, but utterly ſuppreſſed. Tonſtal, Biſhop of

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of London [afterwards of Durham] procured all the copies at Antwerp to be bought up, and burned publicly in Cheapside: But this did no ſervice to the clerical cauſe; for a conſiderable body of the people, who were now brought over to feel more reverence for theſe inſpired writings, than for the prieſthood, took occaſion of much offence and reproach at committing to the flames thoſe volumes, which they conſidered as the word of God. Neither did it anſwer the Biſhops intention, for Tindal ſoon after publiſhed a more correct tranſlation of the New Teſtament, copies of which were ſent over to merchants in London, who diſperſed them privately amongſt their friends and acquaintances; and after ſome time his tranſlation, being reviſed and corrected by Archbiſhop Cranmer, was eſtabliſhed by authority, and in the year 1538, by command of King Henry VIII. was ſet up in every pariſh church, (ſo called) in order that the people might read it. This was a great ſtep in favour of the reformation, and greatly encreaſed the adherents thereto. But this was the utmoſt of the reformation in this reign; King Henry continually wavering between the old religion and the new, kept and left the reformation in an imperfect ſtate. It was conſiderably advanced in the minor reign of King Edward VI. Hume.

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But the ſucceeding reign of Queen Mary, an arbitrary, weak and cruel princeſs, educated in the Romiſh ſuperſtition, to which ſhe was a bigot in the extreme, overturned the reformation, diverted the national religion into the old channel, and reintroduced popery, with all its train of ſuperſtition, bitterneſs of enmity, and ſeverity of perſecution. This revolution proved literally a fiery trial upon the ſincerity of the reformers, many of whom were brought to the ſtake, and ſuffered martyrdom with remarkable fortitude and piety, bearing a noble teſtimony to the truth they believed in, and againſt the errors, corruptions and cruelty of the church of Rome, to the laſt. Unſhaken from their faith by flattery or menaces, they ſupported their teſtimony in the midſt of tortures, and undauntedly ſealed it with their blood. It was computed that no leſs than two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven ſuffered by fire, beſides thoſe puniſhed by impriſonment, fines and confiſcations, and the numbers who ſought ſafety in flight. Divine Providence was pleaſed to deliver his people by cutting ſhort this barbarous reign, the Queen being removed by death, after a reign of about five years and four months.

She was ſucceeded by her ſiſter Elizabeth, who from her education, temper and

and intellectual abilities, formed a contraſt greatly to her advantage over her predeceſſor. She is ſaid to have reſolved upon furthering the reformation while ſhe was held in the conſtraints of a priſon, and upon her coming to the crown immediately ſet about it. The parliament compleated what ſhe had begun, and in the courſe of a ſingle ſeſſion the reformation was eſtabliſhed in that form which conſtitutes the preſent ſyſtem of the church of England; to the ready accompliſhment whereof, it is apprehended, the diſguſt conceived by the people at the frequency and barbarity of the late executions greatly contributed. SECT. III. Goldſmith.

It is juſtly to be eſteemed a ſignal favour, demanding the grateful acknowledgments of the inhabitants of theſe nations, that divine Providence, in abundant mercy to Great Britain and its dependencies, was pleaſed to rend the veil of ſuperſtition, diſperſe the cloud of papal darkneſs, and cauſe the morning of Goſpel light to dawn upon them; and thoſe pious worthies, who by the purity of their manners and doctrines, by the tenor of their lives, and their faithfulneſs to death in teſtimony to the truth, were the principal inſtruments of bringing about and forwarding the reformation, are juſtly entitled to honorabl

eſteem

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eſteem, and doubtleſs enjoy the reward of well-done. But as the apoſtacy from primitive purity was gradual, and did not arrive at the height in one day or age, ſo it is not to be expected in the nature of things, that a complete reformation ſhould be effected at once: multitudes attached to opinions long received as unqueſtionable truths, were prepoſſeſſed againſt the reformed doctrines; and the majority of the eccleſiaſticks, repugnant to a reformation which threatened the diminution of their gain and authority, violently oppoſed the attempts of the reformers as dangerous innovations, inſomuch that theſe were forced to win their way ſtep by ſtep; and at laſt, when by the ſucceſſive revolutions of two reigns the ardour of that zeal which gave riſe to and promoted the reformation began to wear away, and the proteſtants, haraſſed and driven into exile by the perſecutions under Mary, naturally wiſhed for a quiet ſettlement in their native country on any tolerating terms, the proteſtant religion was eſtabliſhed in England under Elizabeth; but in this eſtabliſhment the maxims of human policy ſeem to have had too much influence, whereby thoſe of the ſcripture were ſo qualified and reſtricted as to leave too many veſtiges of the declenſion from the original purity

of

of the Goſpel diſpenſation remaining, diverſ things being reſerved in uſe, for which we find no precedent in the precepts or practice of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, or his apoſtles after his aſcenſion. SECT. III.

Prieſtcraft, which ever ſullied and obſcured the brightneſs of Goſpel light, had too much ſcope, and retained too much influence in the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem. In imitation of the Romiſh hierarchy, the clergy of the church of England aſſumed to themſelves the *title* and *property* of the *Church*, which originally belonged to the *whole body or congregation of the believers.* The firſt miniſters of the Goſpel claimed *neither* to themſelves, as they aimed at no power or dominion over their flocks, no reverence to their perſons or their order, but what naturally reſulted from the ſuperiority of their ſpiritual gifts, the excellency of their miniſtry, and their exemplary lives. They claimed no ſhare of the church's ſtock, but what neceſſity required; they had no idea of engroſſing the whole to themſelves, and leaving the poor, and the building or repairing the places of worſhip, an additional burden upon their hearers.

And although the reformation in ſome degree diminiſhed both the power and the property of the prieſthood, yet it left them more than enough of both to anſwer

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ſwer the end of a perfect reform, or to redreſs all the grievances complained of under the former hierarchy. It left them titles of diſtinction unheard and unthought of in the primitive church, ſuch as archbiſhops, deans, archdeacons. It left in poſſeſſion of the ſuperior orders not only the title of lords of the realm, but the power and honours appendant to that high rank, and allotments of lands ſufficient to ſupport the ſtate and dignity of that ſtation, which, however conſiſtent with human policy, appear to be irreconcilable to theſe precepts of Chriſt and his apoſtles. *The princes of the Gentiles exerciſe dominion over them, and they that are great, exerciſe authority upon them: but it ſhall not be ſo among you.* Matt. xx. 25, 26. *A biſhop muſt be blameleſs, as the ſteward of God; not ſelf-willed, not ſoon angry, not given to wine, no ſtriker;* not given to filthy lucre, *but a lover of hoſpitality; a lover of good men; ſober, juſt, holy, temperate,* &c. Titus, i. 7, 8. *Feed the flock of God, which is among you, taking the overſight thereof, not by conſtraint, but willingly;* not for filthy lucre, *but of a ready mind: Neither as being* LORDS *over God's heritage, but being enſamples to the flock.* 1 Peter, v. 2, 3.

The veſting in the Biſhops ſuch a portion of honour, power and property, had no tendency to advance reformation; bearing

ing too near a reſemblance to thoſe badges of diſtinction borne by thoſe of the Church of Rome, it was thought by many a reſuming of the ſpirit, and principles of the former hierarchy, and defeating the ends of ſeparating from that church, and proteſting againſt the impoſitions and domineering ſpirit thereof. SECT. III.

For although we admit that many reſpectable characters have adorned the bench of Biſhops at and ſince the reformation, yet it is too manifeſt that theſe honours and emoluments of the office have proved a tempting bait to ambition to too many others, probably the greater part, whereby they have been drawn into negligence of their paſtoral charge, to frequent the courts and palaces of princes, to hunt after greater preferments; and to pay more attention to their ſecular, than their ſpiritual calling.

The power alſo left in their hands proved a temptation to revive the ſpirit of perſecution amongſt them; ſoon forgetting all the ill uſage and hardſhips their predeceſſors had undergone, during the bitter intolerancy of the laſt reign, from the Romiſh Biſhops; the Proteſtant Biſhops were hardly firmly ſeated in their ſtalls, till they exerted their endeavours to force an uniformity, which comprehended an univerſal aſſent to the propriety of their prerogatives,

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prerogatives, and a ſubmiſſion to their power and decrees in matters eccleſiaſtical, by the penalties of impriſonments, confiſcations, baniſhment, and (in ſome inſtances) of death. In their legiſlative capacity they were too generally zealous promoters of penal laws againſt non-conformiſts, and in their official and executive capacity ſtrenuous aiders and abettors in carrying them rigorouſly into execution.

The reſervation of tithes for the maintenance of the prieſts is another of the reliques of the apoſtatized church, an impoſition which even eccleſiaſtical avarice did not extort till the ages of groſs darkneſs and ignorance; and the grounds on which they were claimed, the return of Goſpel light clearly manifeſted to be merely nugatory, and that they could not be retained in any reformation reverting to primitive purity, as no veſtige of ſuch a demand could be derived from the new teſtament, or the original practice of the Chriſtian church.

Sundry other articles of the former ſuperſtition were reformed but partially: Oſtentatious ſplendor and human contrivance in worſhip, and in the decoration of temples; the clerical veſtments, pluralities and non-reſidence of the clergy, appear plain inſtances of a deviation from the ſimplicity, diſintereſtedneſs, and conſcientious

ſcientious concern for the propagation of pure religion, conſpicuous in the primitive age of Chriſtianity; and the latter, of a ſpirit of avarice approaching to injuſtice. SECT. III.

William Penn, who lived nearer thoſe times, and whoſe introduction to his account of the riſe and progreſs of the people called Quakers I have had my eye upon in the progreſs of this part of my work, having deſcribed the ſucceſſive ſteps of the reformation in general terms, I quote his deſcription, with ſome explanatory notes, as the readieſt method to bring this introduction to a concluſion.

"The laſt age did ſet ſome ſteps to-
"wards reformation, both as to *doctrine*,
"*worſhip* and *practice*; but *practice* quick-
"ly failed, for wickedneſs flowed in a
"little time, as well among the *profeſſors*
"of the *reformation* as thoſe they re-
"formed from; ſo that by the fruits of
"converſation they were not to be diſ-
"tinguiſhed. And the children of the
"reformers, if not the reformers them-
"ſelves, betook themſelves very early to
"*earthly policy* and *power*, to uphold and
"carry on their reformation that had
"been begun with *ſpiritual weapons*;
"which I have often thought has been
"one of the greateſt reaſons the refor-
"mation made no better progreſs as to

"the

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" the *life* and *ſoul* of *religion*. For whilſt
" the reformers were lowly and ſpiritu-
" ally-minded, and truſted in GOD, and
" looked to him, and lived in his fear,
" and conſulted not with fleſh and blood,
" nor ſought deliverance in their own
" way, there were daily added to the
" church ſuch as one might reaſonably
" ſay ſhould be ſaved; for they were not
" ſo careful to be ſafe from perſecution
" as to be faithful and inoffenſive under
" it; being more concerned to ſpread the
" truth by their faith and patience in
" *tribulation*, than to get the worldly
" power out of their hands that inflicted
" thoſe ſufferings upon them: And it
" will be well if the LORD ſuffer them
" not to fall by the very ſame way they
" took to ſtand.

" In *doctrine* they were in ſome things
" ſhort; in other things, to avoid one
" extreme they ran into another; and
" for *worſhip*, there was for the genera-
" lity, more of *man* in it than of GOD.
" They owned the *ſpirit*, *inſpiration* and
" *revelation* indeed, and grounded their
" ſeparation and reformation upon the
" ſenſe and underſtanding they received
" from it, in the reading of the ſcrip-
" tures of truth. And this was their
" plea; the *ſcripture* is the *text*, the *ſpirit*
" the *interpreter*, and *that* to every one *for*
" *himſelf*.

" *himſelf.* But yet there was too much of SECT. III.
" human invention, tradition and art
" that remained both in praying and
" preaching; and of worldly authority
" and worldly greatneſs in their miniſters,
" eſpecially in this kingdom, *Sweden*,
" *Denmark*, and ſome parts of *Germany*.
" GOD was therefore pleaſed in *England*
" to ſhift us from veſſel to veſſel,* and
" the

* Theſe were firſt diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Puritans, and afterwards by that of Preſbyterians. During the perſecution under Mary's cruel and bigotted reign many of the reformed Church had ſought an aſylum from the fury of the perſecution in thoſe foreign countries where the Proteſtant religion had obtained an eſtabliſhment, particularly at Frankfort and Geneva. Here a diſagreement aroſe between them reſpecting ceremonies, diſcipline and modes of worſhip. Thoſe who had taken up their reſidence at Frankfort adhering to the regulations eſtabliſhed in England under King Edward, and thoſe at Geneva adopting the doctrine and diſcipline eſtabliſhed there by Calvin. When the perſecution in England terminated with the life of Mary, the exiles returned and brought their difference along with them. The Puritans, ſo called from their ſingular purity of life and manners, in which I have no doubt many of them were very ſincere, being repreſented of exemplary lives, diligent in preaching, and moral in their conduct, deſirous of a greater reformation, and wanting the uſeleſs ceremonies and clerical habits to be laid aſide, or at leaſt not to be impoſed upon them againſt their conſciences; they alſo wiſhed the Common-prayer Book to be left indifferent, *i. e.* to be uſed or not, as every miniſter or congregation might be fully perſuaded in their own minds: Although theſe demands appear reaſonable, both the civil and eccleſiaſtical rulers thought otherwiſe, and inſiſted upon an abſolute and entire conformity to that model of religion which they had agreed to eſtabliſh for the obſervation of the whole kingdom. Neale.

The Puritans appear not at firſt to have entertained any deſign of ſeparating from the eſtabliſhed Church: their teachers

SECT. III. " the next remove *humbled* the miniſtry, " ſo that they were more ſtrict in preaching,

ers had no averſion to a participation in her revenues, or to have officiated as pariſh miniſters, if they might have been indulged to officiate in conſiſtency with their religious ſcruples; and many efforts they made in this and the ſucceeding reigns to procure for themſelves a comprehenſion in the church. But the Biſhops, averſe to every conceſſion whereby any part of the eccleſiaſtical revenues might be poſſeſſed without an unreſerved conformity to their preſcriptions, and ſubmiſſion to the decrees of their convocations, in conjunction with the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners appointed by the Queen, proceeded firſt to ſilence the puritan preachers, and deprive them of their benefices; and afterwards to perſecute and impriſon them. The Puritans, hereby deſpairing of a coalition with the eſtabliſhed Church, withdrew from it, and formed themſelves into a ſeparate ſociety; but with as much privacy as poſſible, to eſcape the edge of the penal laws.

It doth not appear, that during their endeavours to keep their places in the church, they made much objection or oppoſition to the order of Biſhops; but ſeemed content to act under them, if they might be allowed the liberty of diſuſing the veſtments, which they looked upon as reliques of popery, and of uſing ſuch parts of the liturgy only as they might judge for edification. But for their non-conformity in theſe frivolous and unneceſſary matters, being proſecuted with rigour by the Biſhops, they were confirmed in a diſlike to epiſcopal government; and when they ſeparated into a ſelect ſociety, in the place of Biſhops they choſe ruling Elders, or Preſbyters, from among themſelves, from whence they received the appellation of Preſbyterians.

Although in their firſt ſeparation from the church of Rome, and afterwards in their diſſent from the church of England, the Puritans were, many of them, actuated by pure conſcientious motives, and were men of circumſpect lives, and a pious, religious turn of mind; yet in proceſs of time, hiſtorians remark, the ſincerity of their ſucceſſors, and their zeal for religion, degenerated into formal preciſeneſs, and outward ſhew of purity, while their actions manifeſted, that their real views were more turned to the acquiſition of ſecular power than holineſs. To wreſt the ſword out of the hands of their executors, they formed a party in the ſtate, and when they had carried

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" ing, devout in praying, and zealous for
" keeping the LORD'S DAY, and cate-
" chizing of children and ſervants, and
" repeating at home in their families
" what they had heard in public. But
" even as theſe grew into power, they
" were not only for *whipping* ſome out,
" but others into, the temple; and they
" appeared *rigid in their ſpirits* rather than
" ſevere in their lives, and more for a
" party than for piety, which brought
" forth another people that were yet more
" retired and ſelect *.

" They

carried their point to get the power into their own hands, they proved themſelves equally intolerant, and as great ſticklers for conformity to their directory, confeſſion of faith, and ſolemn league and covenant, as the Biſhops had been for conformity to the uſe of the ſurplice, the liturgy, and the croſs in baptiſm.

* This ſect at firſt received the appellation of Browniſts, from Robert Brown their paſtor, a puritan preacher of Norfolk, and afterwards that of Independents: His followers were ſo prejudiced againſt the eſtabliſhed church, by reaſon of the ſeverities ſhe exerciſed upon the Puritans, that they went farther in their ſeparation than the Preſbyterians had done; for the latter were very willing to own her as a true church, and even to unite with her, if ſhe would but abate them certain ceremonious uſages; but the Independents would not allow her to be a true church, nor her miniſters true miniſters, and renounced all communion with her. They apprehended every church ought to be limited within the bounds of a ſingle congregation, and that it had full power, excluſive of ſecular penalties, over its own paſtor and members, independent of the ſuperintendency or controul of any other congregation or general aſſembly, or of the civil magiſtrate, as far as conſcientious ſcruples gave no diſturbance to civil order; (for although they found it afterwards expedient to convene Synods,

they

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" They would not *communicate* at large " or in common with others, but formed " churches

they allowed them only the privilege of adviſing, but not of any controul or governing power) and thence they were ſtiled *Independents;* but this independence connected them ſo ſlightly, and their particular ſentiments ſeem to have been ſo different, that it was difficult for them to adhere cloſely together, or for others to know preciſely what the ſyſtem of their doctrines was. Their political ſentiments coincided with their religious tenets, being favourable to civil liberty, but to a degree which proved, by experience, too refined for the preſent ſtate of civil ſociety. In eccleſiaſtical government they were for independency; in civil government for republicaniſm. To them our modern hiſtorians aſcribe the origin of the doctrine of toleration, but go too far in aſſerting that they uniformly maintained it in their practice when inveſted with power: the ſucceeding hiſtory will exhibit ſome melancholy inſtances in contradiction to ſuch aſſertion. In fine the purſuit and acquiſition of ſecular power proved highly detrimental to their reputation and their innocence; introducing a polluting tranſition from religious thoughtfulneſs, and a circumſpection of life and manners, regulated in ſome meaſure by the doctrines of the goſpel; to political conſiderations, and maxims of human prudence in the adminiſtration of civil government, wherein their leaders and teachers betrayed ſymptoms of ambition, avarice, and a vindictive diſpoſition irreconcilable to the purity of Chriſtianity; at the ſame time continuing to make a high profeſſion of, and pretenſions to, religious purity, which gave occaſion to Hiſtorians of the oppoſite party to repreſent them, and other diſſenters, as a body of Phariſaical hypocrites: But it appears to me both ungenerous and unſafe to comprehend any body of men under one general character, which is moſt frequently the reſult of the narrow ſpirit of party-zeal, and ſecret antipathy, rather than that generoſity of ſentiment and diſpaſſionate temper of mind, which can calmly inveſtigate truth and applaud virtue, wherever it may be found. I believe the Independents, in common with other ſocieties, in their firſt ſeparation from the eſtabliſhed church, were generally actuated by conſcientious motives; that many of them retained their integrity; that ſeveral of more tender conſciences among them, offended at the

Hume. M'Laurin.

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" churches among themſelves of ſuch as " could give ſome account of their con- " verſion, at leaſt of very promiſing ex- " periences of the work of GOD's Grace " upon their hearts; and under mutual " agreements and covenants of fellow- " ſhip they kept together. Theſe people " were ſomewhat of a ſofter temper, and " ſeemed to recommend religion by the " charms of its love, mercy and good- " neſs, rather than by the terrors of its " judgments and puniſhments, by which " the former party would have awed peo- " ple into religion.

" They alſo allowed *greater liberty* to " prophecy than thoſe before them, " for they admitted any member to

the latitude taken in their meaſures by ſome of their ruling members in their political capacity, left them in ſearch of a purer and more undefiled religion elſewhere. For it is too notorious to be controverted, that the conduct of too many of their principal men and paſtors, whoſe particular conduct commonly fixeth the character of the whole body, was unjuſtifiable in various inſtances: Their policy in acquiring, and their jealouſy of loſing their power, which many looked upon as a violent and unjuſt uſurpation, puſhed them upon ſome meaſures, which cannot be defended upon the principles of religion, morality or humanity. Their reputation, notwithſtanding, was very conſiderable for wiſdom and political capacity in the adminiſtration of public affairs, during which they made a conſpicuous figure; but with the termination of their power their religious character ſeemeth to have been irrecoverably loſt, they ſoon ſunk into obſcurity, and dwindled in their numbers, till they became ſo inconſiderable a body of themſelves, that they applied for, and obtained their deſire, to be incorporated amongſt the Preſbyterians. Neale.

SECT. III.

" ſpeak or pray as well as their paſtor,
" whom they always choſe, and not the
" civil magiſtrate. If ſuch found any
" thing preſſing upon them *to either duty*,
" even without the *diſtinction of clergy* or
" *laity*, perſons of any trade had the li-
" berty, be it never ſo low and mecha-
" nical. But alas! even theſe people ſuf-
" fered great loſs, for taſting of *worldly*
" *empire*, and the *favour of princes*, and
" the *gain* that enſued, they degenerated
" but too much. For though they had
" cried down national churches and mi-
" niſtry, and maintenance too, ſome of
" them, when it was their own turn to
" be tried, fell under the weight of
" worldly honour and advantage, got into
" profitable parſonages too much, and
" outlived and contradicted their own
" principles; and, which was yet worſe,
" turned, ſome of them, *abſolute perſe-*
" *cutors of other men for* GOD's *ſake*, that
" but ſo lately came themſelves out of
" the furnace, which drove many, a ſtep
" farther, and that was into the water:
" *Another baptiſm*, as believing they were
" not *ſcripturally baptized*, and hoping to
" find that preſence and power of GOD
" in ſubmitting to this watry ordinance,
" which they deſired and wanted.

" Theſe

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* " Theſe people alſo made profeſſion " of *neglecting*, if not *renouncing* and *cen-* " *ſuring*,

* The third ſociety mentioned by William Penn, as aiming to carry the reformation ſtill farther, are the Baptiſts, (or Anabaptiſts) who received that denomination from their objecting to the validity of infant baptiſm by ſprinkling, and their practiſe of baptizing by the immerſion of adults, whom they conſidered as believers, thinking theſe the only proper ſubjects of this ceremony. Upon this account they claim an immediate deſcent from the apoſtles and the primitive church, whoſe practice in this reſpect, they maintain, was the ſame. But their origin is generally deduced from later ages, they being conſidered as having ſprung up in Germany, by ſeparating themſelves from the Lutherans, becauſe their reformation was imperfect, and not brought up to the primitive ſtandard; as the proper mode and ſubject of baptiſm was not allowed by them to be neceſſary in the performance of that rite. Therefore they re-baptized their followers, condemning infant-baptiſm as unſcriptural, and of no effect, whence they acquired the name of Anabaptiſts. In their firſt ſeparation they alſo ſeem to have beem actuated by ſincere and purely religious motives; and exemplified the ſincerity of their religious profeſſion, by the ſtrictneſs of their lives and doctrines, being conſpicuous for their morality, mortification, and ſimplicity of dreſs. They exclaimed not only againſt the authority and tyranny of the church of Rome, but againſt every authority which oppoſed the rights of conſcience. History of Religion by an impartial hand. Lond. 1764.

This ſociety was much expoſed to perſecution, and therefore it was natural for them to exclaim againſt it. Yet in their early appearance in Germany ſome under the denomination of Anabaptiſts gave occaſion for the extenſion of the magiſtrate's ſword. Upon their firſt ſeparation from the Lutherans they ſeem to have been more quick-ſighted in diſcovering what to reject than what to purſue; it appears as if they were not agreed in any ſyſtem of religious principles except the doctrine of baptiſm; in other reſpects their principles were lax and indeterminate, which gave a latitude to ſome unſettled ſpirits under their name to adopt opinions deſtructive to the peace and order of civil ſociety. " That amongſt " Chriſtians, who had the precepts of the goſpel and the " ſpirit of God to guide them, the office of magiſtracy was Robertſon,

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" *ſuring*, not only the *neceſſity*, but *uſe* of " all *human learning*, as to the *miniſtry*, and " all

" not only unneceſſary, but an unlawful encroachment on " their ſpiritual liberty; that all Chriſtians, throwing their " poſſeſſions into one common ſtock, ſhould live together in " that ſtate of equality, which becomes the members of the " ſame family." Nay, it is ſaid they went ſo far as to maintain, " that as neither the laws of Nature nor the New Teſ- " tament had placed any reſtraints upon men, with regard to " the number of wives they might marry, they ſhould uſe " that liberty which God himſelf had granted to the Pa- " triarchs."

The actions of theſe men were ſuch as might be expected to flow from ſuch extravagant notions: they made an inſurrection in Weſtphalia, ſeized the city of Munſter, and in their attempts to eſtabliſh a commonwealth conformable to their wild ideas, ran into the moſt exorbitant and criminal exceſſes; which induced a confederacy of the ſecular powers to quell them by force of arms, and bring the ringleaders to condign puniſhment. This being effected, theſe commotions, which were principally raiſed by two obſcure men, John Matthias, a baker, of Haarlem, and John Bocold, a journeyman tailor, of Leyden, ſubſided entirely; but the brand of infamy, which they ſtamped upon the denomination, was too deep to be readily effaced; and involved the innocent with the guilty in the fatal conſequences of theſe diſorders: Being perſecuted in one city they fled into another, diſperſing themſelves and their opinions into divers countries, where although they led a quiet and peaceable life, and diſavowed the criminal extravagancies of thoſe of Munſter, yet riveted prejudice, deteſtation and perſecution were long attendant upon anabaptiſm, wherever it was adopted or profeſſed. Numbers were martyred in different countries for their adherence thereto. And although in England perſecution hath not in latter ages proceeded to that extremity; yet in every ſtorm of perſecution here, they had generally their full ſhare. Next to the body of people, who are the ſubject of the following hiſtory, they were perhaps the moſt hated and perſecuted ſect, they having adopted many opinions of the ſame tenor with thoſe which expoſed the people called Quakers to the ſeverity of their ſufferings: they maintained the liberty of propheſying,

as

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" all other qualifications to it, beſides the *helps* and *gifts* of the *Spirit* of GOD, and thoſe natural and common to men. And for a time they ſeemed like *John* of old, *a burning and a ſhining light to other ſocieties.*

" They were very diligent, plain and ſerious, ſtrong in ſcripture and bold in profeſſion, bearing much reproach and contradiction. But that which others fell by proved their ſnare, for worldly power ſpoiled them too; who had enough of it to try them what they would do if they had more: And they reſted alſo too much upon their watry diſpenſation, inſtead of paſſing on more fully to that of the *fire* and *Holy Ghoſt*, which was *his baptiſm, who came with a fan in his hand, that he might thoroughly*, and not in part only, *purge his floor, and take away the droſs and the tin of his people, and make a man finer than Gold.* Withal they grew high, rough and ſelf-righteous, oppoſing farther attainment; too much forgetting the day of their infancy and littleneſs, which gave them ſomething of a real beauty,

as any individual was authorized and qualified by the gift or influence of the holy Spirit; ſome of them held war to be inconſiſtent with Chriſtianity, and ſcrupled to take an oath; they inſiſted that the goſpel ought to be free, and denied the right of tithes, or other compulſory maintenance of miniſters. Raynal. Confeſſion of faith of general Baptiſts, 1660. Art. 16.

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" beauty, inſomuch that many left them, " and all viſible churches and ſocieties, " and wandered up and down, as *ſheep* " without a *ſhepherd*, and as *doves* with- " out their *mates*; ſeeking their *beloved*, " but could not find him, as their ſouls " deſired to know him, whom their ſouls " loved above their *chiefeſt joy*.

" Theſe people were called *Seekers* by " ſome, and the *Family of Love* by others; " becauſe, as they came to the knowledge " of one another, they ſometimes met " together, not formally to pray or preach " at appointed times or places, in their " own wills, as in times paſt they were " accuſtomed to do, but waited together " in *ſilence*, and as any thing roſe in any " one of their minds that they thought " favoured of a *divine ſpring*, they ſome- " times ſpoke. But ſo it was, that ſome " of them not keeping in *humility* and in " the *fear* of GOD, after the abundance " of revelation, were exalted *above mea-* " *ſure*; and for want of ſtaying their " minds in an humble dependance upon " him that opened their underſtandings " to ſee *great things* in his *law*, they ran " out in their own imaginations, and " mixing them with thoſe divine open- " ings, brought forth a monſtrous birth, " to the ſcandal of thoſe that feared GOD, " and waited daily in the temple, not

" made

" made with hands, for the conſolation of SECT. III.
" *Iſrael*; the *Jew* inward, and circumci-
" ſion in ſpirit.

" This people obtained the name of
" *Ranters*, from their extravagant diſ-
" courſes and practices; for they inter-
" preted CHRIST's fulfilling of the law
" for us to be a diſcharging of us from
" any obligation and duty the law re-
" quired of us, inſtead of the condem-
" nation of the law for ſins paſt, upon
" faith and repentance; and that now it
" was no ſin to do that which before it
" was a ſin to commit, the ſlaviſh fear of
" the law being taken off by CHRIST;
" and all things good that man did, if
" he did but do them with the mind and
" perſuaſion that it was ſo, inſomuch that
" divers fell into groſs and enormous
" practices, pretending in excuſe thereof,
" that they could, *without evil*, commit
" the ſame act which was ſin in another
" to do."

Their extravagancies and immoralities ſhocking the ſincere ſeekers of pure religion amongſt them, they relinquiſhed a community fallen into manifeſt diſorder, to ſearch after it elſewhere; and many of other ſocieties alſo, feeling a deſire after a greater degree of purity and peace of mind than they had yet met with, were at a loſs to know where to find

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find it, or whom to apply to for direction.

About this time Providence ſaw meet to raiſe up an inſtrument to gather a people from thoſe who were diſſatisfied with theſe different profeſſions, and were looking for the revelation of the Goſpel in greater purity, as well as many who were not. A man of ſtrong natural parts, firm health, undaunted courage, remarkable diſintereſtedneſs, inflexible integrity, and undiſguiſed ſincerity, unacquainted with the doctrine of the ſchools, and unattached to any ſyſtem, but endued with a power and authority which ſchools cannot convey, ſpeaking the language of experience, and of a heart verſed in the work of ſanctification. The tenor of his doctrine, when he found himſelf concerned to inſtruct others, was to wean men from ſyſtems, ceremonies, and the outſide of religion in every form, and to lead them to an acquaintance with themſelves, by a moſt ſolicitous attention to what paſſed in their own minds; to direct them to a principle in their own hearts, which if duly attended to, would introduce rectitude of mind, ſimplicity of manners, a life and converſation adorned with every chriſtian virtue, and peace, the effect of righteouſneſs, which they were looking for. Drawing his doctrine from

SECT. III.

from the pure ſource of religious truth, the New Teſtament, and the convictions of his own mind, abſtracted from the comments of men, he aſſerted the freedom of man, in the liberty of the Goſpel, againſt the tyranny of cuſtom, and againſt the combined powers of ſevere perſecution, the greateſt contempt and the keeneſt ridicule. Unſhaken and undiſmayed he perſevered in diſſeminating principles and practices conducive to the preſent and everlaſting well-being of mankind with great honeſty, ſimplicity and ſucceſs. It ſeems proper, therefore, with an account of this extraordinary character, who was the firſt preacher of the principles of the ſociety afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the contemptuous appellation of Quakers, and the firſt perſon who received that name, to open the hiſtory of this people.

HISTORY

OF THE

PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

BOOK I.

From the Birth of George Fox to the End of the Commonwealth.

CHAPTER I.

Birth of George Fox.—His early turn to Religion.—Is put apprentice.—Religious Thoughtfulneſs predominant in his Mind, and its Effects.—He leaves his Relations.—Falls under great Trouble of mind.—Applies to ſeveral Prieſts, but receives no Relief.—Withdraws from the publick Worſhip.—Paſſeth his Time in Retirement.—Grows in religious Experience.

CHAP. I.

1624. Birth of George Fox.

GEORGE FOX was a native of Leiceſterſhire, being born at Drayton in the Clay, in the ſaid county, in the year 1624, of parents not conſiderable for their rank in the world, but reſpectable in their neighbourhood for piety, and integrity of life, who gave him a ſober, although not a learned, education, in the way and worſhip

CHAP. I.

worſhip of the national church: [a] His mother eſpecially, a woman of qualifications ſuperiour to the generality of her circumſtances in life, obſerving the bent of his diſpoſition to gravity and ſerioufneſs from his childhood, treated him with particular tenderneſs and indulgence, being careful not to diſcourage his virtuous inclinations, feeling much ſatisfaction in theſe early indications of a pious and religious turn of mind in her ſon.

1624.

His early turn to religion.

As he grew up, this ſerioufneſs and gravity grew up with him, and his contemplative turn of mind enlarged his underſtanding with juſt notions of religion in his early minority, inſomuch that about the [b] eleventh year of his age, he had clear conceptions of righteouſneſs and purity; whereby he was influenced to be faithful in all things; inwardly to God, and outwardly to man. [c] The ſtayedneſs and gravity of his demeanour ſuggeſted to ſome of his relations a deſire that he might be educated for the Prieſthood; but, whether the circumſtances or the inclinations of his parents prevented, [d] he was put apprentice to a ſhoe-maker, by whom he was chiefly employed in keeping of ſheep, an employment well ſuited to the temper of his mind, both for its innocence and ſolitude. In his ſervice and commerce he was truly conſcientious, diſcharging his truſt with the moſt ſcrupulous fidelity to his maſter, and honeſty and integrity to all he dealt with.

1635.

He is put apprentice.

1643. At the expiration of his apprenticeſhip he returned home to his parents, and religious conſideration

[a] Penn's Preface to George Fox's Journal. [b] George Fox's Journal, p. 2. [c] Ibid. [d] William Penn's Preface.

CHAP. I.

1643.

ſideration having ſtill the aſcendancy in his mind, the clear impreſſion fixed therein of the refined nature of true religion, pointed out to him the neceſſity of great circumſpection in all his words and actions; [e] that his words ſhould be few and ſavoury, ſeaſoned with Grace, ſincere and void of deceit; that he muſt deal with all men uprightly as in the ſight of God; that he muſt be watchfully temperate in eating and drinking, uſing the Creatures not for the gratification of a carnal appetite, but for the preſervation of health, as Servants in their places to the Glory of him who created them. At the ſame time obſerving in the greater number of thoſe who were high in profeſſion of religion, a latitude in their conduct and converſation; an indulgence in ſenſual gratifications; or an attachment to temporal purſuits, to a degree, in his view, irreconcilable to the purity of the Chriſtian religion, it occaſioned him diſcouragement, and anxiety of heart to that degree, that he could not, ſometimes, take his natural reſt; but ſpent his nights in watchings and in prayer: Under his ſolicitude on the moſt important ſubject he received this internal admonition "Thou ſeeſt how the young people go to-"gether into vanity, and old people into the "earth; thou muſt forſake all, both young and "old, and be as a ſtranger unto all."

Religious thoughtfulneſs predominant in his mind; and its effects.

This, which he underſtood to be a divine command, determined him to leave his relations and acquaintance; to detach himſelf, as much as poſſible from company and converſation, for fear of being drawn into unwatchfulneſs, and tranſgreſſing the limits of pure religion, and receiving hurt thereby. [f] Yet in his moving about (for

He leaves his relations.

[e] George Fox's Journal, p. 2. [f] Penn's Preface.

CHAP. I.

(for he tarried not long in any place) he ſought out the moſt retired and religious people to converſe with, as he felt freedom, or apprehended the pointings of duty thereto, and ſojourned amongſt them.

1643.

and falls under great trouble of mind.

[g] In theſe his ſolitary travels, he was under great trouble and anguiſh of mind to that degree that he was tempted almoſt to deſpair, whereby he was brought to a narrow ſcrutiny and retroſpection into his paſt life; and blameleſs as it ſeems to have been, his anxiety ſtill encreaſed nigh to deſpondency at times. In this ſtate a doubt ariſing in his mind of the rectitude of his conduct in leaving his relations, he returned home; yet here feeling little mitigation of his ſorrows, he had recourſe to ſeveral of the Prieſts in theſe parts, who were in repute for religious experience, to conſult them, for their counſel and advice; but found no real benefit or help from them, they not being able to reach his ſtate, or adminiſter the relief he wanted.

1644.

Applies to ſundry prieſts.

1646.

[h] Being diſappointed in his application to theſe teachers, and finding them to him Phyſicians of no value, he was diſcouraged from a dependence upon them. And ſhortly after this his underſtanding being enlightened to ſee beyond the prevailing popular prejudices, "That an educa-"tion at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough "to fit and qualify men to be miniſters of Chriſt," and "That God did not dwell in temples made "with hands," he declined the attendance of the public worſhip, to hear ſermons unavailable to the ſtate of his ſoul, and to join in prayers and ſinging not expreſſive of its feelings, eſteeming it not worſhip, but offenſive to the divine being, who knows the ſecrets of all hearts, to addreſs

He withdraws from the public worſhip,

[g] George Fox's Jonrnal, p. 3, &c. [h] Ibid, p. 4, 5.

CHAP. I.

1646.

addreſs him in language not conceived in the ſoul, nor formed from the inward feeling of what it ſtood in need of. [i] He therefore turned his views toward the diſſenters, as apprehending more tenderneſs and religious experience among them: yet he found not that ſatisfaction here, which he deſired: For being convinced that to be a true believer was a more arduous attainment than mankind in general apprehended, and that they only were ſuch "Who *were born again*" and "*had paſſed from death to life:* that a profeſſion of truth without the poſſeſſion; a form of Godlineſs deſtitute of the power thereof, prevailed too much amongſt the different claſſes of the profeſſors of Chriſtianity. Wherefore withdrawing from communion with all outward ſocieties, he retired alone into ſolitary places, frequently with his bible, and employed himſelf in reading and meditation there.

and paſſeth his time in retirement and ſolitude.

For the ſpace of three or four years he lived in privacy and ſolitude; during which time, through a variety of probations, he grew in religious experience, and the work of ſanctification: being illuminated with the clear diſcovery of the myſtery of iniquity; endued with wiſdom and fortitude to avoid evil; and ſteadily to endeavour after righteouſneſs and holineſs; which, through divine Grace, he was enabled to attain in a good degree. By a ſtrict attention, and ready obedience to the teacher nigh at hand, the word in the heart, and in the mouth, to be heard and obeyed, he was enduced with intellectual diſcernment, to diſtinguiſh between the eſſential, and external part of religion, between the ſpirit and the letter: the latter he thought unavailable

Groweth in religious experience,

[i] George Fox's Journal, p. 7.

CHAP. I. 1646.

unavailable of itſelf to ſalvation; but the former he adopted, as that without which no man can be ſaved. Thus by an internal monitor, being, (as the wiſe ſcribe in the Goſpel) well inſtructed to the kingdom of heaven, and qualified to bring out of the treaſury of his own experience, things new and old; he felt it his duty not to [k] hide the light under a bed, or under a buſhel, but to ſet it as on the candleſtick to diffuſe light to the nation; that is, publickly to recommend to mankind an inward attention to the ſame internal monitor, [l] the light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world.

and publicly exhorts to an attention to the light, &c.

Human literature not eſſential to a goſpel miniſter.

I know that George Fox and his Friends have been expoſed to much contempt and ridicule, for aſſuming the province of teachers, being many of them illiterate men: But abſurd and ridiculous as it may appear in the eyes of human policy or contemptuous ſcience, the ſequel proves them not without qualification for the part which they undertook. They, and the people called Quakers after them in general, although they neither did nor do condemn nor reject uſeful literature, yet were and are fully of opinion it is not an eſſential qualification of a Goſpel miniſter; but that the inward experience of the work of converſion and ſanctification is: That the latter without the former may conſtitute the character of a miniſter of the Goſpel; that the former without the latter never can. We admit that good natural parts, and an enlarged underſtanding, are valuable accompliſhments, and gifts of the Creator of man for great and good purpoſes; that being cultivated and improved

[k] Mark, iv. 21. [l] John, i. 9.

improved by useful knowledge, they may bring advantage to the possessor in particular, and the community in general, for many purposes of this life; and that being sanctified by divine grace, they may be made highly subservient to promote the welfare of mankind in the best sense, if, in gratitude to the beneficent giver of every good and perfect gift, they be devoted to the ends for which he gave them, the advancement of religion and virtue: that by such an application alone of these precious gifts, men act as faithful Stewards of the talents their Creator hath entrusted them with, to whom we must all give an account of the use and improvement we have made of them, which merits the serious consideration of all who are favoured with these advantages. Yet we esteem it the most valuable and genuine characteristic of the Gospel, that its doctrines, whereby life and immortality are brought to light, under the influence of divine Grace, are intelligible to the unlearned in human literature, as well as the learned: This we believe as the necessary consequence of the divine attributes of Goodness and Justice. We consider Christianity, not as a speculative science, but a practical doctrine; and that religion most worthy of our study and pursuit, which mends the heart, and regulates the life and manners, not that which only fills the head with a notional apprehension of divine things. If George Fox with experience without learning became a preacher of righteousness, so did those, who of all others have the most undisputed title to the character of Gospel ministers, viz. the Apostles, on the authority of one of themselves, [m] "That which

CHAP. I. 1646.

[m] 1 John, i. 1 and 3.

CHAP. I. 1646. "we have heard, which we have ſeen, and our "hands have handled of the word of life—de- "clare we unto you."

CHAP. II.

George Fox travels abroad again.—State of the Nation.—A general Turn to Religion prevalent, and religious Opinions multiplying, open a freer Reception for George Fox's Miniſtry.—His firſt Appearance as a Miniſter.—Independents ſeize the Government.—George Fox's firſt Appearance in Prayer.—Attends a public Diſpute at Leiceſter—Endeavours on all Occaſions to promote Righteouſneſs.—Symptoms of Diſguſt againſt him begin to appear.—1. For diſuſing cuſtomary Modes of Salutation and Addreſs—Other Cauſes of Offence.—Chiefly the Doctrine of him and his Friends concerning Goſpel Miniſtry.—George Fox's firſt Impriſonment at Nottingham.—Removed to the Sheriff's Houſe, and back to Priſon.—His ill Treatment in other Places.—Occaſion thereof.—Apology for it.

CHAP. III. 1647. George Fox departs from home again, and travels abroad.

[a] IT was in the year 1647 that George Fox conceived it his duty to leave his outward habitation a ſecond time, and travel abroad, to ſeek out the moſt ſerious and religious people to aſſociate and converſe with. Paſſing through part of his native county and Derbyſhire he came

[a] George Fox's Journal, p. 6. William Penn's Preface p. 84.

came into Nottinghamſhire; and in his paſſing along, wherever he met with honeſt-hearted religious people, he would enter into religious conferences with them, as freedom and opportunity invited, for mutual improvement and edification; but he chiefly recommended ſilence, and abſtinence from ſelf-performances, in order to turn the attention of men more ſtedfaſtly to the light of Chriſt within them; and to wait in patience to feel the power of this divine principle animate them to a heavenly temper, and a life of righteouſneſs; always exemplifying the doctrine he taught in his own practice. 1647.

State of the nation at this period.

At this time the nation was in a very unſettled ſtate. After ſome years of civil war, commenced, (as alledged) for the redreſs of grievances, and limiting or preventing arbitrary power, (for which too much occaſion had been given) and terminating in a conteſt for the ſupremacy. The Preſbyterians and their adherents, aſſiſted by their brethren from Scotland, had vanquiſhed the Royaliſts, and were themſelves overreached by the Independents, who having now gotten the King into their hands, a priſoner in the Iſle of Wight, and the army, attached to their intereſt, were proceeding rapidly to fix themſelves in the ſeat of government. As this civil war had been undertaken to redreſs religious grievances as well as thoſe in the ſtate, that claſs of the people who were diſtinguiſhed by the denomination of Puritans and Sectaries (having ſuffered much perſecution under the power of the biſhops) ranked generally on that ſide which aimed at the abolition of their dominion and office; and this party (who made high pretenſions to ſanctity and purity of religion) ſucceeding in their aim, both in the con-

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1647.

ducting of the war, and of the government after the war was concluded, giving ſcope to a latitude of policy, ambition, and a vindictive temper, irreconcileable to the honeſt ſimplicity, the peaceable and forgiving ſpirit of the Chriſtian religion, and the purity of their former pretenſions, gave occaſion to their antagoniſts, and ſundry hiſtorians after them, to repreſent the diſſenters of this age in general under one deſcription of hypocritical enthuſiaſts, who covered pernicious deſigns under the veil of ſanctity, and maſked deep deceit under ſpecious profeſſions. Theſe party-reproaches (however well-grounded in reſpect to ſome public characters) could not, with candour or juſtice, be applied to numbers of the people of that age, who diſſented from the preceding eſtabliſhed worſhip, and nevertheleſs were ſincere in piety, and in their reſearches after pure and undefiled religion; for ever ſince the reformation had broken the ſhackles, with which Prieſtcraft had fettered the underſtandings of mankind, and taught them to think for themſelves, and purſue the train of their thoughts in a free enquiry after truth and pure religion, many of the moſt ſincere in their enquiries, apprehending too much of the old leaven both in doctrine, diſcipline and manners retained in the epiſcopal church; and that they had the ſame right by the laws of God and nature to diſſent from her, that ſhe had to diſſent from the Church of Rome, were engaged in honeſty of heart to wiſh for, and endeavour after, a more perfect reformation: and ſeveral of them evidenced the ſincerity of their piety by circumſpect and virtuous lives, the criterion whereby only men can ſafely judge of each other. *By their fruits ſhall ye know them.* The perſecution and

and ſufferings to which their diſſent expoſed them may be conſidered alſo as a teſt of ſincerity; for what man would incur certain evil, but in proſpect of greater good? CHAP. II. 1647.

As I am far from attempting to vindicate all thoſe who at this time made pretenſions to purity, being ſenſible that too many of them either made religion a cloak of covetouſneſs and ambition, or if they were ever ſincere, became corrupt by the poſſeſſion of power; ſo I cannot think they do any ſervice to the cauſe of religion, who, by dwelling upon the prevailing inſincerity without exception, give an air of ſuſpicion to all religious appearances, of being only a cover to bad deſigns: Many, I believe, who were drawn into wrong meaſures, for want of diſcriminating religious diſſent from political faction, were ſincere and acted upon principle, though under the influence of human frailty liable to err in judgment, and that divers of theſe coming to ſee their error relinquiſhed it. I believe alſo many others were really religious, devoted in heart to the ſervice of their Creator, and ſo to paſs the time of their ſojourning here in his fear, as to obtain his favour; that they were preſerved thereby through theſe times of tumult in innocence and integrity of life, lamenting the calamities of their country, and forbearing to take any active part in the guilty and diſtracting ſcene. That from the reformation to this time a ſpirit of free religious enquiry had been kept alive, even by the ſeverities practiſed to quaſh it: That the civil wars, which ſpread bloodſhed and devaſtation to almoſt every corner of the land, having ſtripped great numbers of much of their outward ſubſtance, and leaving the remaining part at the diſpoſal of ſuperior force,

CHAP. II. 1647.

force, had an effect to wean men's affections inſenſibly from poſſeſſions of ſo precarious a tenure: That all, who could think ſeriouſly, were naturally led to look for ſomething more ſtable; which not being found below, they were incited to look for it above: And that the ſpirit of religious enquiry, and ſincere deſire in many to ſeek after and attain ſolid good, received additional ſtrength.

A general turn to religion prevalent at this time,

[b] It was certainly an æra when religious profeſſion and regularity of manners were in general eſtimation; and amidſt this general profeſſion, we muſt preſume many were truly conſcientious in their diſſent from eſtabliſhed forms, and in their enquiry after a better way. But in theſe times of turbulence, and inteſtine commotion, when the reins of civil and eccleſiaſtical authority were ſhifting from hand to hand, ſects and opinions multiplying, and many coming, and ſaying, "Lo here is Chriſt, and lo he is "there," perplexed many of the honeſt and ſincere enquirers, in their ſearch of truth: Amidſt the variety and fluctuation of doctrines and opinions, like Noah's dove, they found no reſt for the ſoles of their feet, being under uncertainty what guide to follow, or what ſociety to aſſociate with; and therefore ſundry others, beſide George Fox, deſerted theſe uncertain teachers, and in retirement and ſolitude conſulted the ſcriptures, and the oracle in their own breaſts, for inſtruction in the way of their duty; or met in ſelect companies for worſhipping, and mutual edification. [c] Amongſt ſuch as theſe who were weary of a fruitleſs ſearch without, George Fox found an open reception for his doctrine, directing to an

and opinions multiplied,

open a freer courſe and reception to George Fox's miniſtry.

[b] Neale [c] William Penn's Preface.

an unerring guide within them, viz. The light of Chriſt, which he hath placed as a witneſs for himſelf in every man's conſcience. CHAP. II. 1647.

[d] His miniſterial labours were at firſt exerciſed in the way of religious conference with ſuch well-diſpoſed people as he met with upon enquiry, as he paſſed along from place to place in conciſe but inſtructive remarks upon the nature of pure religion. He durſt not ſtay long in any particular place, for fear of contracting acquaintance which might not be profitable, or of entering into much converſation, whereby his mind drawn off from its habitual meditation and recollection might be retarded or injured as to advancement in religious experience. But as he went northward as far as Duckenfield and Mancheſter, meeting thereaway with ſome religious enquirers he made ſome ſtay, and had religious meetings, and declared truth amongſt them; whereby there were ſome convinced of the truth of his doctrine, who (as he expreſſeth it) received the Lord's teaching, were confirmed and ſtood in the truth. His firſt appearing as a miniſter.

This is the firſt inſtance we have of his public miniſtry, which, in his firſt ſetting out in this line, I underſtand, conſiſted in a few weighty expreſſions, attended with a reaching power, greatly affecting the hearts of his auditory.

[e] At no great diſtance from this time, another opportunity occurred for his public miniſtry on the following occaſion: The Baptiſts had appointed a meeting at Broughton in Leiceſterſhire, with ſome perſons who had ſeparated from them: The report thereof drew abundance of people together, even from other counties, and A meeting appointed by the Baptiſts affords an opportunity of exerciſing his miniſtry again.

George

[d] George Fox's Journal, p. 6, 12. [e] Ibid, p. 12.

CHAP. II. 1647.

George Fox among others; but from whatever cauſe it happened, but few of the Baptiſts attended. This circumſtance preſenting a full audience, and George feeling his mind divinely influenced, made uſe of the opportunity to inculcate the doctrines he had received as truth upon the minds of the aſſembly with ſucceſs: Several by his powerful preaching, and others, by his reaſoning in conferences with them, were convinced of the truth he publiſhed that day.

Independents ſeize the government. 1648.

[f] Near the cloſe of this year O. S. the Independents and Republicans accompliſhed their purpoſe in bringing the King to the block, aboliſhing regal dominion; the authority and peculiar privileges of the Nobility; and the office of Biſhops: and ſeating themſelves at the helm of Government. Their profeſſed principles being in favour of civil and religious liberty, the public places of worſhip ſeem, for a ſeaſon, till they were more firmly fixed in their ſeats, to have been open to teachers of different denominations, and not uncommonly appropriated to theological diſcuſſion, and diſputation between the teachers or members of various ſects: This furniſhed George Fox and others with more public and full opportunities of divulging their reſpective opinions, and accordingly we find him frequently availing himſelf thereof.

Private houſes alſo were occaſionally open to religious conferences, and as the principal bent of this pious young man's mind, excited by perſuaſion of duty, was to do good to others, or reap ſpiritual advantage to himſelf, he was zealous to attend ſundry meetings of this kind, appointed in theſe parts where he moſtly reſided at this

[f] Rapin, &c.

this time, viz. his native county of Leiceſterſhire (to which he was now returned) and places adjacent: [g] Once at a meeting of ſundry prieſts and profeſſors at a Juſtice's houſe, and twice at Mansfield, in which he modeſtly offered his ſentiments on the ſubject of diſquiſition, which were generally well received, and gained the aſſent of ſeveral of the company. [g] At the firſt meeting at Mansfield he was moved to pray (being the firſt time we find any account of his praying in public) and * the power accompanying his prayer was ſo reaching, that the houſe ſeemed to be ſhaken: which occaſioned ſome of the company to remark that it was now as in the days of the Apoſtles, when the houſe was ſhaken where they were. The effect of his prayer on the audience, encouraged another profeſſor preſent to pray alſo; but (not being under a ſimilar influence) his prayer, inſtead of edifying, brought deadneſs and a veil over the aſſembly, which diſpleaſing them, he deſired George to pray again, but he could not pray in man's will.

CHAP. II. 1648.

His firſt appearance in public prayer.

[h] Soon after this hearing of a great meeting appointed at Leiceſter for a diſpute, wherein it was reported, that Preſbyterians, Independents, Baptiſts and Epiſcopalians were engaged, he went thither, the meeting being held in the public wroſhip-

George Fox attends a public diſpute at Leiceſter.

[g] George Fox's Journal, p. 13, 14.

* William Penn who knew George Fox very well, from long and intimate acquaintance, gives this character of his excellency in prayer. Above all he excelled in prayer. The inwardneſs and weight of his ſpirit; the reverence and ſolemnity of his addreſs and behaviour; and the fewneſs and fulneſs of his words, have often ſtruck even ſtrangers with admiration, as they uſed to reach others with conſolation. The moſt awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I muſt ſay was in his prayer.

[h] George Fox's Journal, p. 15.

CHAP. II. 1648.

worſhip-houſe opened a general admiſſion; and liberty being granted for any to ſpeak, after ſome time of conference and reaſoning, a woman preſent put this Queſtion, [i] *What birth was that which the Apoſtle ſpeaks of, A being born again of incorruptible ſeed, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever?* The prieſt replied, I ſuffer not a woman to ſpeak in the *church*, which drew from George Fox an enquiry what he underſtood the Church to be, for reply, the prieſt returning the queſtion' George expreſſed his Idea thereof " That it was neither a building " of lime and ſtones, nor a mixed multitude " aſſembled together; but the pillar and ground " of truth, a ſpiritual building compoſed of " living ſtones, a ſpiritual houſehold, which " Chriſt was the head of." This, he writes, ſet them all on fire, and the diſpute was marred. I own myſelf at a loſs to diſcover any thing in theſe expreſſions, (which are moſtly ſcriptural) to provoke any reaſonable perſon to the leaſt degree of reſentment, were it not that being prepoſſeſſed in favour of received opinions, our prejudices too eaſily rouſe our paſſions to their aid at the advancing of any new doctrines which have not obtained the ſanction of public reception. The pride of human nature is mortified at the ſuppoſition of its being in ignorance or error, and he who endeavours to inform it better, or ſet it right, frequently meets with inſult and ill treatment for his pains: This occaſioned George Fox, a young man, obſcure and illiterate, coming abroad with new doctrines, in many reſpects oppoſite to the received opinions, much enmity and perſecution, as we ſhall find in

Explains his notion of a church.

[i] 1 Peter, i. 23.

in the ſequel: but he was on a foundation not to be ſhaken. At this time when the meeting was thus broken up he retired to his inn, whither he was followed by ſeveral of the prieſts and profeſſors, with whom he diſputed the ſubject afreſh, and maintained his opinion of the true church, and true head thereof, till they gave out and went away. Several were convinced that day, and amongſt them the woman who put the queſtion, and her family. CHAP. II. 1648.

Travelling about in the central parts of the nation, and now ſtaying more or leſs in a place as he found his mind engaged, his preaching of repentance, and endeavours to turn people from the evil of their ways, was attended with conſiderable ſucceſs: the power and convincing authority attending his miniſtry daily encreaſing the number of proſelytes: So that meetings of them begun to be ſettled in theſe parts in the courſe of this year.

His endeavours to propagate true religion, and righteouſneſs, the neceſſary concomitant thereof, were not confined to public or private meetings; but exerted in other places as occaſion offered: [k] particularly in courts of judicature, to admoniſh to juſtice, and caution againſt oppreſſion: In markets to recommend truth, candour, and fair dealing, and to bear his teſtimony againſt fraud, and deceitful merchandiſe: At public houſes of entertainment to warn againſt indulging intemperance, by ſupplying their gueſts with more liquor than would do them good: At ſchools and in private families to exhort to the training up of children and ſervants to ſobriety in the fear of their maker; to teſtify againſt vain ſports, He endeavours on all occaſions to promote righteouſneſs. 1649.

[k] George Fox's Journal, p. 23.

CHAP. II. 1649.

ſports, plays and ſhews, as tending to draw people into vanity and libertiniſm, and from that ſtate of circumſpection and attentive conſideration, wherein our ſalvation is to be wrought out, forewarning all of the great day of account for all the deeds done in the body.

It is not improbable but this uncommon manner of intervention in places unuſual might expoſe him to the deriſion of ſome, and reſentment of others; but we meet not as yet with any inſtance of ill uſage in his perſon; although the ſymptoms of that perſecuting ſpirit, which ſoon after cauſed him to ſuffer many grievous hardſhips, and much injurious treatment (notwithſtanding the liberal ſentiments of toleration now profeſſed) began to diſcover themſelves in the virulent and contumelious diſpoſition, which actuated people of all ſorts againſt him.

Symptoms of diſguſt againſt George Fox and his friends appear,

For upon his appearing abroad in his more public capacity, the clear impreſſion fixed in his mind of the purity of the Chriſtian religion, and the too general defection of the greater part of profeſſors therefrom, produced in him cautiouſneſs to take no man for his copy; but ſingly purſuing what the light in his own conſcience diſcovered to be right, he was led into a manner of conduct in many reſpects ſingular, but, properly conſidered, not abſurd; although contradictory to faſhion, yet not contrary to reaſon and propriety. [1] Viewing * the cuſtomary modes of ſalutation

for the diſuſe of cuſtomary compliments, and addreſſing ſingle perſons as ſuch,

[1] George Fox's Journal, p. 22.

The Quakers reaſons for their conduct.

* Inaſmuch as this primitive ſimplicity of manners is ſtill retained by the ſtricter ſort of the people called Quakers, thoſe who are ſuch upon principle, and as theſe practices are looked upon by many to be frivolous objects of religious ſcruple, it ſeems proper in this place to recapitulate the reaſons which they advance in defence of their behaviour. The practices of uncovering

lutation in uncovering the head, and bowing the body, as owing their original to pride on one hand, CHAP. II. 1649.

uncovering the head, bowing, and bending the knee, being marks of divine worſhip, they think, as ſuch, are marks of reverence not due from man to his fellow-creature, but ought to be peculiarly reſerved for the worſhip of their Creator, ſince, according to the doctrine of the Apoſtle Paul, the head is to be uncovered in worſhipping him, as a mark of veneration; and to him and his name alone every knee muſt bow. Now (ſay they) he that kneeleth and proſtrateth himſelf to man, what doth he more to God? He that boweth to the creature, what hath he reſerved for the Creator.

Secondly, the example and doctrines of the primitive Church are againſt ſuch practices. Peter's refuſal of ſuch external marks of reverence from Cornelius amounts to a preſumptive demonſtration that ſuch ſigns of veneration were neither uſed, nor allowed among Chriſtians in their ſtate of primitive purity: And in the Angel's refuſing the like expreſſion of adoration from John, ſaying, "See thou do it not: I am thy fellow-ſer-"vant, and of thy brethren, worſhip God," we have the ſenſe of ſuperior Beings (who have a clearer notion of the fitneſs of things, and of divine perfection, and approach nearer thereunto than the ſhort-lived, dim-ſighted inhabitants of this globe, that worſhip, and the external ſigns thereof belong to *God only*.

Thirdly, they ſcruple compliance with theſe cuſtoms becauſe they were received (amongſt many other groſs corruptions of Chriſtianity) through the polluted channel of Paganiſm in its moſt corrupted ſtate. The eaſtern monarchs, enervated by luxury, intoxicated by the flattery of pernicious paraſites, and debauched by pride and by power, were ſo elevated above the common ſtate of mankind, that they ſeemed to look upon themſelves as ſomething more than mortals; and demanded and received the moſt humiliating ſigns of reverence to their perſons from thoſe who approached their preſence; and the moſt extravagant titles of adulation from all who preſumed to addreſs them. But the more virtuous and wiſer Greeks refuſed to comply with theſe abject modes of acceſs and interview, as unbecoming from man to man. Yet this conduct of the Greeks ſeems to have met with applauſe and approbation, whilſt the like conduct in the Quakers is cenſured and condemned; a ſignal inſtance of the partial, and inconſiſtent judgments of men, when faſhion, and not propriety is the rule they judge by.

CHAP. II. 1649.

hand, and folly and paraſitical artifice on the other, introducing marks of homage to men, which they had no juſt claim to, and which general uſage only, and neither right reaſon nor real religion ratified, he eſteemed it his duty to bear a public teſtimony againſt theſe cuſtoms, by declining compliance therewith. Being by the light and precepts of the Goſpel early inſtructed that his words ſhould be few and ſavoury; conformable to ſincerity and truth; void of flattery and void of deceit, he felt himſelf circumſcribed from adopting the prevailing deviation from the original propriety and ſimplicity of language in uſing YOU to a ſingle perſon, or giving cuſtomary compliments, or flattering titles, and accordingly, under perſuaſion of duty, addreſſed individuals of every rank with the ſingular appellation of * *thou* or *thee*, without reſpect of perſons.

* Their declining the uſe of *you* to a ſingle perſon is grounded upon the like reaſon, the vulgar cuſtom being derived from the ſame polluted ſource. In the ſcriptures throughout, in all the antient languages, and to this day in our addreſſes to our maker, the proper ſingular *thou* and *thee* are uſed in ſpeaking to one. The firſt inſtance of a deviation from this grammatical propriety, that I have met with, occurs in the laſt ſtages of the decline of the Roman empire, in the reign of Valentinian and Valens, between three and four hundred years after the commencement of the Chriſtian æra. Eutropius addreſſeth to Valens, veſtra tranquillitas [your tranquillity]. And the ſame author dedicated his work to the ſame Emperor, with the following extravagant epithets: *Domino Valenti Gothico maximo, perpetuo, auguſto. To Lord Valens Gothic, the moſt mighty, everlaſting, and auguſt.* R. Barclay quotes from the Epiſtles of Symmachus to the Emperors Theodoſius and Valentinian, theſe forms of addreſs: *Veſtra eternitas; your eternity. Veſtrum numen, your Godhead.* So this mode of addreſſing one as many, oweth its origin to the Gentiles, who knew not God; to ſycophants, who racked their invention for abſurd and extravagant terms of adulation to their Emperors, whom, in this

1649. Which is the occaſion of much abuſe and ſuffering to him and his friends.

ſons. This uncourtlike manner of ſalutation and addreſs begat general diſguſt, filled the magiſtrates, eccleſiaſticks, and laicks with indignation, and expoſed George Fox and his fellow-believers to much grievous abuſe in their perſons, being

this age of groſs degeneracy from the manly ſpirit of their anceſtors, they were ſervile and ſtupid enough to flatter with divine attributes while living, and enrol them among their imaginary Deities when dead. To an extravagance of Idolatry, as irreconcileable to the whole tenor of Chriſtianity as light is to darkneſs, or Chriſt to Belial. For theſe reaſons, this people, endeavouring to regulate their conduct and their conſciences by the light they were favoured with, one might reaſonably expect ſhould have met with indulgence, rather than perſecution and inſult from the preſent rulers and teachers, whoſe profeſſed principle was that every man ought to direct his conſcience and interpret the ſcriptures according to his own convictions, light and apprehenſions. What was the ground of the firſt reformation from Popery, but a well-founded apprehenſion, that in that ſyſtem the beauty of Chriſtianity was marred, and the ſpirit thereof loſt by the introduction of foreign ceremonies, and the heterogeneous mixture of Gentile cuſtoms? And what was the ground of diſſent from this firſt reformation, but an apprehenſion that it retained too much of this foreign mixture? If theſe reformers juſtify themſelves in their reſpective ſeparations from churches appearing to them not pure, why cenſure and contemn the Quakers for endeavouring to clear their ſyſtem ſtill further of heatheniſh vanities, introduced in the darkneſs of apoſtacy; to revert as nearly as poſſible to apoſtolical purity, and to reject every practice which hath not the ſtamp of divine authority upon it; much more that which in their apprehenſion may be offenſive to the Almighty, by robbing him of his honour in a communication thereof to fallible man?

Laſtly, as ſeekers after, and promoters of pure religion and primitive Chriſtianity, they felt themſelves reſtrained from practices, not only contrary to the nature and ſpirit of Chriſtianity in their original; but tending to defeat the end thereof in their effect, as ſupplying ſtrength and nouriſhment to pride and vanity in man, which the Goſpel is plainly deſigned to weaken and deſtroy; and in ſtead thereof to introduce humility and meekneſs into the ſoul.

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being often beaten, buffeted, ſtoned, impriſoned and fined for no other reaſon but declining to take off their hats, and to give the cuſtomary titles of adulation to men; cuſtoms which they believed to be unlawful for them to comply with: But they preferred the teſtimony of a good conſcience, and a faithful adherence to the conviction of that which they received as truth, to the eaſe and ſafety of their perſons, or the ſmiles or frowns of men; and for the ſake of peace with God, patiently endured all the abuſe, and ill-treatment they met with on this account; hereby giving an indubitable evidence of their ſincerity, that they were as the Jews inward, whoſe praiſe was not of man but of God.

Other occaſions of offence.

Their unfaſhionable demeanor was not the ſole cauſe of the ſevere treatment George Fox and his fellow-labourers met with; their doctrine, their circumſpect converſation, their plain-dealing and honeſt teſtimonies againſt religion without righteouſneſs, carrying in them ſtrong reproof to hypocriſy and lifeleſs profeſſion, were little leſs offenſive to many of the oſtentatious and formal profeſſors of the age.

Their doctrine concerning Goſpel miniſtry the greateſt offence of all.

But ſtill the greateſt rock of offence, and which created them the greateſt number of enemies, and contributed as much as all the reſt to faſten in the minds of the people an averſion too deeply rooted to be eaſily eradicated, was their opinion concerning Goſpel miniſtry. They taught that the Goſpel was free; that the Goſpel miniſter ought either to miniſter becauſe it was his indiſpenſable duty, or omit taking the charge upon him; that no perſon ought to teach for hire, but that of the ability which God gave, they ought to give freely to the people, and their practice correſponded with this doctrine. A doctrine,

trine, which, touching the teachers of every other denomination in a very tender part, their intereſt, raiſed againſt them a combined hoſt of foes, ſuch as have proved able to overturn kingdoms. The prieſts and paſtors of every other claſs, however at variance among themſelves, generally took the alarm, and united in exertions againſt theſe hated reformers; to paint them in hideous colours; to impreſs upon the magiſtrates and the people the moſt unfavourable opinion of the doctrine and conduct of thoſe men who in the face of the whole world had ſo widely deviated from the common conduct of mankind, and broached opinions in their view ſo pernicious. Biaſſed by prejudice, and blinded by paſſion, their repreſentations of this people tranſgreſſed the bounds of candour and of truth; the pulpits in the ſolemn hour of divine worſhip were converted into vehicles of calumny and fiction; every ridiculous ſtory was circulated to their diſadvantage; and all manner of pains taken to repreſent them, not what they were, but what their adverſaries would have them thought to be. The preſs ſeconding the efforts of the pulpit, ſpread undeſerved reproach widely, and to ages yet unborn. Men of letters, leiſure and abilities, warped by the popular voice, without giving themſelves time to conſider this people and their doctrines attentively, joined in the common cauſe againſt them. This confederacy of enemies could vilify their reputation; abuſe their perſons; plunder, impriſon and grievouſly perſecute them: but could neither overſet their confidence in divine ſupport, nor prevent the encreaſe of their numbers, till they became a very conſiderable body, not more remarkable for the ſingularities of their profeſſion, than for the uni-

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form practice of every Chriſtian virtue, and the ſeverity and iniquity of their ſufferings for the teſtimony of a good conſcience through three ſucceſſive revolutions of government.

George Fox's impriſonment at Nottingham, and the occaſion thereof.

[1] George Fox's firſt impriſonment was in the courſe of the preſent year at Nottingham: Coming thither on a firſt day of the week, under a perſuaſion of duty he went to the public worſhip, and the prieſt taking for his text theſe words of the apoſtle Peter, "We have a more "ſure word of prophecy, &c." which he expounded to be the ſcriptures, by which all doctrines, religions and opinions were to be tried. George Fox feeling, as he apprehended, a divine power opening his underſtanding into a clearer conception of the meaning of the text, and an authority to expreſs his ſenſe thereof, ſignified that this *ſure word* of prophecy was not the ſcriptures, but the holy ſpirit, by which holy men gave forth the ſcriptures, whereby (as the ſureſt interpreter of them) opinions, religions and judgments were to be tried: For it led men into all truth. The Jews had the Scriptures, yet reſiſted the Holy Ghoſt, and rejected Chriſt, the bright morning ſtar, perſecuted him and his apoſtles, while they pretended to try their doctrine by the ſcriptures; but erred in judgment, becauſe they tried them without the Holy Ghoſt. Hereupon the officers ſeized him, and took him to priſon, putting him into a place ſo filthy and intolerably noiſome, that the ſmell thereof was very grievous to be endured. At night he was carried before the mayor, aldermen and ſheriffs of the town, and after examination was recommitted. But one of the magiſtrates was more kindly

[1] George Fox's Journal, p. 24, &c.

kindly diſpoſed than the reſt; John Reckleſs, ſheriff, being with his wife and family much affected with George's doctrine and the power attending it, after ſome time removed him to his own houſe: During his reſidence here, he had great meetings, which ſome perſons of conſiderable condition in the world attended, and the Lord's power appeared eminently among them, whereby a great change was effected in the ſheriff, inſomuch that he and ſeveral others being excited by a ſenſe of duty to exhort both the people and magiſtrates to repentance, the latter were ſo provoked, that they cauſed George Fox to be removed back from the ſheriff's houſe to the common priſon, where he lay till the aſſizes; yet was not then brought to his trial for any offence committed by him, for although he was ordered to be taken before the judge, the officer was ſo dilatory in obeying the order that the court was broken up before he got thither, at which the judge expreſſed his diſpleaſure, ſignifying, *He would have admoniſhed the youth, if he had been brought before him.* This backwardneſs in giving him an opportunity of being tried or diſcharged, appears to me a tacit confeſſion that the magiſtrates were ſenſible, they had no legal cauſe for impriſoning him; yet they ordered him into the common jail, and detained him there ſome time longer*. And as far as appears, he was im-

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The ſheriff affected with Geo. Fox's teſtimony removes him to his own houſe,

from whence he is removed back to the common priſon and detained ſome time.

* Daniel Neale, in his hiſtory of the Puritans, vol. II. p. 399, &c. giving an account of the firſt riſe of the Quakers, amongſt other inſtances of a partial bias, either by overſight or deſign, gives a very palliative narration of George Fox's impriſonment there, not ſtrictly true. "Continuing his ſpeech," ſaith he, "to the diſturbance of the congregation, the officers "were obliged to turn him out of the church, and carry him "to

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priſoned, detained in priſon, and releaſed at the mere will and pleaſure of the magiſtrates of Nottingham, without any legal cauſe aſſigned. Such arbitrary exertion of power but ill agrees with that regard for chartered privileges, that equal liberty, the eſtabliſhment whereof theſe republicans pretended to have in view, in taking up arms, and in ſeizing the government into their own hands.

His ill treatment in ſeveral other places.

[m] The popular odium cauſeleſsly raiſed againſt an inoffenſive character, injurious to none, but zealouſly employed in endeavours to do all the good in his power, began now to diſcover itſelf more openly; where the magiſtrates did not interpoſe their authority to impriſon, the populace were ſtimulated to abuſe. In moſt places whither he came, bonds or afflictions abode him. * At Mansfield

" to the ſheriff's houſe: next day he was committed to the " caſtle, but was quickly releaſed without any further puniſh- " ment." For this aſſertion he quotes no authority but W. Sewel, whoſe account being drawn from the ſame authority (George Fox's own journal) in ſubſtance correſponds with mine. Whence Daniel Neale got his information that the officers took George Fox from the church (ſo called) to the ſheriff's houſe, and that he was quickly releaſed, he ſaith not; George Fox himſelf ſaith the contrary.

[m] George Fox's Journal, p. 26.

* Neale paſſeth over this treatment of George Fox in a very curſory manner, viz. " After this he diſturbed the mi- " niſter of Mansfield in time of divine ſervice, for which he " was ſet in the ſtocks, and turned out of the town." ibid. Where we may obſerve, that while George Fox's conduct is placed in the moſt invidious light it would bear, *diſturbing the miniſter*, &c. he takes not the leaſt notice of the real diſturbance raiſed by the prieſt's own hearers, in converting the place of divine worſhip into a ſcene of lawleſs riot, and the time ſet apart for the ſervice of God into enormous abuſe of a fellow-creature; manifeſting their religion to be ſuch, at the time when it ſhould moſt affect their minds, as admitted of injury, revenge,

Mansfield Woodhouſe, ſpeaking to the prieſt and congregation in their public place of worſhip, the people aſſaulted him in a furious manner, ſtruck him down, and beat him cruelly with their hands, CHAP. II. 1649.

revenge, and violating of the peace and order of civil ſociety; which is another inſtance of the partial bias of this writer, as he had as plain an account of this riot in W. Sewel's hiſtory as of the part he ſelected. But perhaps he might ſuſpect that an exhibition of ſuch conduct might depreciate his character of the temper of the times, and ſtate of religion under the inſtruction and through the zealous labours of the late diſſenting paſtors, now the eſtabliſhed preachers, which he thus deſcribes: Anno 1647, "The laws againſt vice and immora-" lity were ſtrictly executed, the Lord's day was duly ob-" ſerved, the churches were crowded with attentive hearers, " family devotion was in repute, neither ſervants nor children " being allowed to walk in the fields, or frequent the public " houſes; there was a zeal for God, and a much greater ap-" pearance of ſobriety, virtue and true religion than before " the civil war, or after the *bleſſed* reſtoration." And anno 1649, "There was a great appearance of ſobriety both in " city and country; the indefatigable pains of the Preſbyte-" rian miniſters in catechiſing, inſtructing and viſiting their " pariſhioners, can never be ſufficiently commended. The " whole nation was civilized." I mean not to detract in the leaſt from real merit, or deny diligence in diſcharge of duty to be very commendable and meritorious, ſo far. But without tranſgreſſing the bounds of candour or charity, the hiſtory of this age authorizeth the opinion, that the religion of the time had too much of the Phariſaical leaven; in the general more ſpecious than ſolid; productive of a demure auſterity rather than real internal holineſs. Strictneſs in outward obſervations and appearances, while the ſanctifying virtue of pure religion, which cleanſeth the inſide and deſtroyeth ſin in the root, was too little regarded; under all the appearance of ſobriety and virtue, a root of bitterneſs remained unpurged out in many, ready on the leaſt oppoſition or provocation to break out into acts of open violence and vindictive abuſe. The common people as prone to tumult and exceſs of riot as in a more licentious age; which diſpoſitions are ſcarcely leſs oppoſite to the genuine ſpirit of Chriſtianity, deſigned to promote peace on earth and good will to men, than profaneneſs or immorality.

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hands, bibles and ſticks, whereby he was grievouſly bruiſed. After they had thus far vented their rage, they haled him out and put him into the ſtocks, where he ſat ſome hours; and then they took him before a magiſtrate, who ſeeing how groſsly he had been abuſed, after much threatening, ſet him at liberty. But ſtill the rude multitude, inſatiate in abuſe, ſtoned him out of the town, though hardly able to go, or well to ſtand, by reaſon of their violent ill uſage, for no other cauſe but exhorting them for their good. With much difficulty he reached the diſtance of about a mile from the town, where he met with ſome people humane enough to adminiſter ſome cordials for his eaſe, being inwardly bruiſed. At Market Boſworth he was alſo ſtoned out of the town: and at Cheſterfield he was detained in cuſtody till late at night, and then put out of the town by officers and watchmen, and left in the dark to provide for himſelf as well as he could. In the midſt of his ſufferings he had the conſolation of apprehending himſelf in the way of his duty, and of finding that in each place ſome were convinced, and others confirmed in the truth by his miniſtry.

Occaſion thereof.

The occaſion of this repeated ill-treatment which he met with from place to place was ſtill the ſame: his ſpeaking to the prieſts and people in their public aſſemblies, to bring them off from the teachings of men to the teachings of the grace of God in their own hearts: Now at the firſt appearance of this people ſeveral others of them as well as George Fox, thought it their duty to go to the public places of worſhip, to declare to the prieſts or people the burden of the word on their minds; moſtly (though not always) waiting till their worſhip was ended, and then

then delivering, or attempting to deliver, their sentiments in quietneſs (as far as I can diſcover from their accounts) and in as few words as poſſible, for which they were often treated with great violence and outrage; and to palliate ſuch treatment, irreconcileable to the profeſſed purity of this period, or to the good order of civil ſociety, great pains have been taken to deſcribe their conduct in terms of aggravation to a heinous offence, and at this day may ſeem to deſerve cenſure: Let us take a retroſpective view of the manners and principles of that age, and I think we may find ſome cauſe of excuſe for their ſeeming intruſion. This people were not ſingle, at that time, in their ſentiments concerning the Goſpel liberty of propheſying: But the Independents alſo as well as the Baptiſts adopted the opinion, that the ordained miniſters or paſtors had not, by any ordination of Chriſt, or the order obſerved amongſt the primitive Chriſtians, an excluſive right of ſpeaking in the church, but that all properly gifted, might ſpeak one by one. It had been during the time of the civil war, and ſtill continued to be no unuſual practice for laymen, ſoldiers and others to ſpeak or preach in the public places of worſhip and elſewhere, with the connivance, if not with the approbation of the ruling powers. Oliver Cromwell, in his correſpondence with the miniſters of Scotland in the next year 1650, after the battle of Dunbar, vindicates the practice. Oliver having made an offer, to the miniſters who had taken ſanctuary in the caſtle of Edinburgh, or had fled, of free privilege to return to their reſpective pariſhes; the Scotch miniſters in reply objected his opening the pulpit doors to all intruders, by which means a flood of errors was broken in upon the nation;

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to

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to which Oliver anſwered, [n] "We look upon you "as helpers of, not lords over the faith of God's "people:—where do you find in ſcripture, that "preaching is included within your function? "Though an approbation from men has order "in it, and may be well, yet he that hath not a "better than that hath none at all. I hope he "that aſcended up on high may give his gifts to "whom he pleaſes; and if thoſe gifts be the "ſeal of miſſion, are not you envious, though "Eldad and Medad propheſy? You know who "hath bid us covet earneſtly the beſt gifts, but "chiefly that we may propheſy; which the apoſ-"tle explains to be a ſpeaking to inſtruction, "edification and comfort, which the inſtructed, "edified and comforted can beſt tell the energy "and effect of."——"Indeed you err through "miſtake of the ſcriptures. Approbation is an "act of convenience in reſpect to order, not of "neceſſity, to give faculty to preach the Goſ-"pel. Your pretended fear leſt error ſhould "ſtep in, is like the man that would keep all "the wine out of the country leſt men ſhould "be drunk. It will be found an unjuſt and un-"wiſe jealouſy, to deny a man the liberty he "hath by nature, upon a ſuppoſition he may "abuſe it." And in anſwer to the governor's complaint That men of ſecular employments had uſurped the office of the miniſtry, to the ſcandal of the reformed churches, he queries, "Are you troubled that Chriſt is preached? "Doth it ſcandalize the reformed churches, "and Scotland in particular? Is it againſt the "covenant? away with the covenant if it be "ſo. I thought the covenant and theſe men "would

[n] Neale, vol. ii. p. 393.

" would have been willing that any ſhould ſpeak CHAP. II.
" good of the name of Chriſt; if not, it is no
" covenant of God's approving, nor the kirk 1649.
" you mention the ſpouſe of Chriſt."

By this it appears evident that a participation of the laity in miniſterial offices was not only allowed but patronized by ſome of the leading men of that time. If then ſome members of this infant ſociety, under perſuaſion of duty, at times made uſe of the liberty allowed to others, (and to ſeveral of themſelves, 'till they joined this ſociety) to deliver a ſhort exhortation, moſt generally at the cloſe of their worſhip, to the people aſſembled, as a full opportunity to diſcharge their duty; to give them contumelious and violent abuſe on that account was as contradictory to the profeſſed principles of the Independents, and thoſe free notions of civil and religious liberty which they had been ſo active in diſſeminating, as to religion and the civilization boaſted of; and adminiſters ground for ſuſpicion that they propagated theſe reaſonable principles chiefly with ſiniſter views, or by liberty meant, as is too common, liberty only to themſelves. It is certain this ſociety enjoyed a very precarious liberty under their rule.

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CHAP. III.

George Fox is impriſoned in Derby.—Remarks thereupon.—Employs himſelf in writing ſundry Epiſtles and Exhortations.—Juſtice Bennet gives him and his Friends the Appellation of Quakers. *Note thereupon.—George Fox refuſeth to be releaſed upon Bail, for which Bennett abuſeth him.—The Gaoler having been an Enemy to George Fox repents of his evil Treatment of him.—A Slander raiſed againſt the Quakers from a Soldier's Diſcourſe with George Fox.—George Fox being ſolicited to go into the Army declares his Scruple againſt Wars.—Is impriſoned amongſt Felons.—Pernicious Effects of keeping Priſoners long in Gaol.—George Fox writes to Colonel Barton, &c.—Diſcharged from his Impriſonment.*

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1650. He comes to Derby, and for ſpeaking at a lecture is impriſoned there.

FROM Cheſterfield George Fox directed his courſe to Derby, where he was entertained at a doctor's houſe, whoſe wife was convinced, where, as he was walking in his chamber, hearing the bell ring, upon enquiring into the cauſe, he was informed that there was to be a great lecture there that day, at which many officers of the army and preachers were to be preſent, particularly a colonel, who was a preacher. George went to this lecture, and after it was finiſhed ſpoke what was on his mind, and they heard him without moleſtation; but when he had done, an officer came up to him, and taking him by the hand, told him he muſt go before the magiſtrates. Being brought before them about

about the first hour afternoon, they spent the day till the ninth, in examination and consultation about him, and then committed him and another to the house of correction, by the following mittimus[a]: CHAP. III. 1650.

" To the Master of the House of Correction in " *Derby*, Greeting.

" *WE have sent you herewithal the Bodies of* " George Fox, *late of* Mansfield *in the County* " *of* Nottingham, *and* John Fretwell, *late of* " Staniesby *in the County of* Derby, *Husband-* " *man, brought before us this present Day, and* " *charged with the avowed uttering and broach-* " *ing of divers* blasphemous Opinions, *contrary* " *to a late* * Act of Parliament; *which, upon* " *their*

[a] George Fox's Journal, p. 29.

[b] † An act or ordinance had been passed near three months before by the parliament against several *atheistical, blasphemous and execrable* opinions derogatory to the honour of God, and tending to the dissolution of human society. § Enacting, that any persons not distempered in their brains, who shall maintain any mere creature to be God, or to be infinite, almighty, &c. or shall deny the holiness of God; or shall maintain that all acts of wickedness and unrighteousness are not forbidden in holy scripture; or that God approves of them. Any one who shall maintain, that acts of drunkenness, adultery, swearing, &c. are not in themselves shameful, wicked, sinful and impious; or that there is not any real difference between moral good and evil; all such persons shall suffer six months imprisonment for the first offence, and for the second shall be banished; and if they return without license shall be treated as felons.

Several other efforts were made to draw sundry members of this society within the terms, and under the penalties of this act, by accusations of blasphemy, which could never be proved against them.

† M'Auley, Appen. to vol. V. § Neale, vol. ii. p. 397.

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" *their Examination before us, they have con-*
" *feſſed. Theſe are therefore to require you,*
" *forthwith upon ſight hereof, to receive them,*
" *the ſaid* George Fox *and* John Fretwell, *into*
" *your Cuſtody, and them therein ſafely to keep*
" *during the Space of* Six Months, *without Bail*
" *or Mainprize, or until they ſhall find ſuffici-*
" *ent Security to be of good Behaviour, or be*
" *thence delivered by Order from ourſelves.*
" *Hereof you are not to fail. Given under our*
" *Hands and Seals this* 30*th Day of October,*
" 1650.

" Ger. Bennet,
" Nath. Barton."

Remarks thereupon.

The magiſtrates of Nottingham appear to have impriſoned him without law, the magiſtrates of Derby would appear to commit by law; but it was law violently ſtrained; and under ſuch pretext of law, right and juſtice might be, and were groſsly violated. Laws may be wreſted to the purpoſes of malice, prepoſſeſſion and paſſion; juſtice is equal, impartial and diſpaſſionate. I know not where we meet with any opinions of George Fox which can, with any propriety, be termed *blaſphemous*, or are comprehended in the terms of the act of parliament theſe magiſtrates pretend to regulate their proceedings by. His principles were as remote from the terms of blaſphemy mentioned in the ordinance, as far as I find it cited, as their own or any other could be. They have ſtood the teſt of ſevere examination, and have been well defended againſt the objections of their opponents, as well by ſeveral others as by Robert Barclay in his apology.

And

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And whereas the mittimus alledgeth, that upon their examination they confeſſed them, viz. their *blaſphemous opinions*, how far that was true will beſt appear from the examination itſelf, which, by George Fox's journal, was to this purport:

[b] The magiſtrates aſked, why they came thither? George Fox anſwered, "God, who dwell-"eth not in temples made with hands moved us "to do ſo." He obſerved farther, all their preaching, baptiſm and ſacrifices would never ſanctify them, and bade them to look unto Chriſt in them, and not unto men, for it is Chriſt that ſanctifies. And as they were very full of words, ſome time diſputing, and ſome time deriding, he told them, They were not to diſpute of God and Chriſt, but obey him. At laſt they aſked him if he was ſanctified; he replied "yes." "If he "had no ſin:" his anſwer was, "Chriſt my Savi-"our hath taken away my ſin, and in him "there is no ſin." To the next queſtion, "How "they knew Chriſt was in them?" he replied, "By his Spirit, which he hath given us." Then they were aſked if any of them were Chriſt: to which inſidious query he anſwered "Nay, we "are nothing; Chriſt is all." They next queried, "If a man ſteal, is it no ſin?" to which he replied, "All unrighteouſneſs is ſin."

Had theſe magiſtrates been principled againſt the belief of any ſupernatural influence; had they been men who eſteemed all pretences to inſpiration as mere deluſion, it might adminiſter leſs cauſe of admiration if they ſhould interpret George Fox's reaſon for coming to Derby, and his directing them to Chriſt in them, as implying *blaſphemous*

[b] George Fox's Journal, p. 29.

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blaſphemous opinions. But for two independent juſtices, and one of them [Barton] a preacher, who being an officer, I preſume, had received no regular ordination, and therefore had no commiſſion to preach, but a pretended or real gift, and how are ſpiritual gifts received if not by inſpiration? For magiſtrates whoſe own tenets implied a ſupernatural influence, and admitted no interference of the civil power in ſpiritual concerns, but were pointed in favour of univerſal toleration; for men profeſſing ſuch principles to commit to priſon an inoffenſive man, only for his religious opinions, in many reſpects not far different from thoſe profeſſed by them, and which the ſequel hath proved were neither *derogatory to the honour of God, nor prejudicial to human ſociety*, but the very reverſe, is utterly irreconcileable to every idea which hiſtory gives us of independency: and a remarkable inſtance of the inconſiſtency of men with themſelves in different ſtations of life.

For it appears evident to me that theſe magiſtrates, tainted with the general averſion cauſeleſsly conceived againſt this people, were deſirous to find an occaſion to proceed to ſeverity, in order as far as in their power to repreſs their growth, and that not being able to prove any blaſphemy from George's public declaration, they ſpent ſo many hours in examining and deliberating, to ſee if they could extort ſome unwary conceſſion, which might furniſh a more plauſible pretext to accompliſh their purpoſe. The two laſt queſtions appear to be put with a plain deſign to make him an offender under the terms of the act, which deſign being defeated by his anſwers, they proceed, notwithſtanding, to involve him in the puniſhment preſcribed for blaſphemy

blaſphemy therein, although unconvicted, in manifeſt contradiction to their avowed principles of toleration. Speculative principles frequently prove too weak a check to human paſſions and prejudices, to prevent theſe latter from becoming the ſpring of action, with men poſſeſſed of power to gratify them.

Employs himſelf in writing ſundry epiſtles and exhortations.

George Fox was now prevented from travelling by his confinement, but his mind, actively impelled by perſuaſion of duty, to advance the truth he believed in, to promote righteouſneſs, and to teſtify againſt iniquity, did not ſuffer him to reſt unemployed, for during his confinement he was much exerciſed in writing, particularly to the [c] prieſts and the magiſtrates of Derby: To the former, that if they had received the Goſpel freely, they ſhould miniſter it freely, without money or without price. That if they maintained the ſcripture to be their rule they ought to manifeſt that it was ſo, not by words only, but by the conformity of their lives to the doctrines and precepts thereof. To the magiſtrates, repeatedly pointing out the injuſtice and inconſiſtency of perſecution and oppreſſion for religion: *That the magiſtrate is ſet for the puniſhment of evil-doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well.*

[d] Neither was he, under his reſtraint, unmindful of his principal concern, the inſtruction and confirmation of thoſe who had been convinced by his miniſtry. He wrote a paper to be ſpread abroad amongſt his friends and other well diſpoſed people, for the opening their underſtandings in the way of truth, and directing them to the true teacher in themſelves.

It

[c] George Fox's Journal, p. 30, 31, &c. [d] Ibid, p. 35.

CHAP. III.

1650. Juſtice Bennet gives him and his friends the appellation of Quakers.

[c] It was during his impriſonment here, that upon occaſion, bidding Gervas Bennet (one of the juſtices who committed him) and thoſe in company with him, *tremble at the word of the Lord;* Bennet, in an airy mind, turning this expreſſion into a ſubject of ridicule and banter, in deriſion gave George Fox and his friends the appellation of Quakers*, by which name this

[c] George Fox's Journal, p. 35.

Note thereupon.

* Other authors have given a different account of the original of this denomination, but this is taken from George Fox's journal, which I apprehend the only authentic account we have. Neale, who is followed by Moſheim, diſcovers on ſeveral occaſions a very inimical bias when he ſpeaks of this people, as will more fully appear when we proceed to the review of their treatment in New England. And on this occaſion in particular his averſion and contempt are notoriouſly manifeſt, in his opprobrious deſcription approaching to ſcurrility. It was (ſaith he) in the year 1650, that theſe *wandering lights* firſt received the denomination of Quakers, upon this ground, that their ſpeaking to the people was uſually attended with convulſive agonies and ſhakings of the body. When George Fox appeared before Gervas Bennett, Eſq; one of the juſtices of Derby, he had one of his agitations or fits of trembling upon him, and with a loud voice and vehement emotion of body bid the juſtice and thoſe about him tremble at the word of the Lord, whereupon the juſtice gave him and his friends the name of Quakers. Now whence he received his information of the attendant circumſtances we are to ſeek; he quotes no authority, nor could he who dates his preface in 1737 ſpeak his own knowledge of tranſactions paſſed ſeventy or eighty years before; and abſtracting the air of ridicule and cenſure in which this deſcription is exhibited, what does it amount to? no certain ſymptom of error. We readily admit theſe promulgators of primitive Chriſtianity had no univerſity education, were not trained in ſchools of oratory; it was plain truth and righteouſneſs they ſought to follow and recommend in a plain and ſimple way, without the ſtudied decorations of fine language, or the engaging attractions of a graceful motion; they ſpoke not to the head, or to the eye, but to the hearts of their auditors. Being themſelves animated, and deeply

this people have ſince that time been diſtinguiſhed. CHAP. III.

1650.

He refuſeth to be releaſed upon bail.

[i] His relations being uneaſy at his impriſonment, applied to the juſtices who committed him for his releaſe upon bail, offering to be bound in one hundred pounds, and others of Derby in fifty pounds with them; whereupon he was brought before the juſtices, but he refuſed his conſent to the bail, becauſe he thought the conditions (which were that he ſhould be of good behaviour, and come no more thither to cry againſt the prieſts) in one part, a groundleſs impeachment of his character, who was innocent of ill-behaviour; and in the other, a reſtraint from duty. Juſtice Bennet, who, I conjecture, would willingly have got rid of him, ſaving his honour, being tranſported with paſſion to a degree unbecoming his office as keeper of the peace, roſe up in a rage, and as George was kneeling down to pray for him, he fell furiouſly upon him, and ſtruck him with both his hands, commanding the jailer to take him away to his priſon; he was accordingly carried back, and there detained.

deeply affected in ſpirit with the inward feeling of the power of that truth, to the knowledge of which they aimed to bring others, that thereby they might be ſaved; an unaffected warmth of zeal in recommending righteouſneſs, and teſtifying againſt vice and wickedneſs, might produce a warmth of expreſſion and action alſo, which to an invidious eye might appear convulſive: But their convulſions did not bereave them of underſtanding; they ſpake with the ſpirit and with the underſtanding alſo, of things which they knew, and teſtified of things which they had ſeen. And their doctrine was often effectual to open the underſtanding of their hearers, to ſee clearly the ſtates of their minds, both what they were and what they ought to be.

[i] George Fox's Journal, p. 38.

CHAP. III.

1650.

The jailer, having been an enemy to George Fox, repents of his evil treatment.

[k] The keeper of the priſon, an high profeſſor, was in the number of George's enemies, he watchfully remarked his words and actions, aſked many frivolous, many inſidious queſtions, in order to draw ſome unwary or unguarded anſwer, to turn to the diſadvantage of his character; but George was mercifully preſerved in that innocence and circumſpection of conduct, that the jailer could get no advantage againſt him this way: and yet it ſeems he ſpoke very wickedly of him. For which evil treatment he was one day ſo ſmitten in his own conſcience, that as George Fox was walking in his chamber, he heard a mournful voice, upon which he ſtood to liſten more attentively, and heard the jailer give the following relation to his wife: "Wife, I have "ſeen the day of judgment, and I ſaw George "there, and I was afraid of him, becauſe I had "done him ſo much wrong, and ſpoken ſo much "againſt him to the miniſters, profeſſors and "juſtices, and in taverns and alehouſes." And afterwards coming to George Fox, he made the following acknowledgment, "I have been a "lion againſt you, but now I come like a lamb, "and like the jailer that came to *Paul and* "*Silas* trembling." The next day he went to the juſtices and complained to them that he and his houſe had been plagued for George's ſake. To which (as the jailer reported) the aforeſaid Gervas Bennet replied, that plagues were upon them for keeping him there: [l] and ſoon after the juſtices gave him leave to walk a mile, in expectation that he would make uſe of the opportunity given him to regain his liberty, and eſcape out of their hands. But they were miſtaken in their

[k] George Fox's Journal, p. 34. [l] Ibid, p. 35.

their apprehenſions: this man, as patient in ſuffering for his principles, as he was zealous and undaunted in propagating them, was too tender of the reputation of the truth he maintained, to give advantage againſt it to its adverſaries, by obtaining his liberty in any clandeſtine manner; he therefore ſignified, if they would aſcertain the extent of a mile, he might make uſe of the liberty ſometimes. His fellow priſoner Fretwell, not being on the ſame foundation, obſerved a different conduct, for he ſoon found means to ingratiate himſelf with the jailer, and by his interference obtained leave to go ſee his mother, and ſo got his liberty; which occaſioned the jailer to remark, "that man was not right, but "that George was an honeſt man." The jailer's ſiſter alſo being ſickly, viſiting George in his chamber, was ſo affected with his diſcourſe, as to bear teſtimony concerning him and his friends: "that they were an innocent people that did "harm to none, but did good to all, even to "thoſe who hated them."

CHAP. III. 1650.

But notwithſtanding his circumſpect converſation, and perſevering caution to miniſter no occaſion to the adverſaries to ſpeak reproachfully, he could not long eſcape the obloquy of their malevolence: For among others that came to ſee and diſcourſe with him in his confinement, there came a [m] ſoldier from Nottingham, who it was underſtood had been a baptiſt, and ſeveral along with him. In the courſe of their converſation this perſon made uſe of this aſſertion: "*Your faith ſtands in a man that died at Jeruſa-*"*lem, and there was never any ſuch thing.*" George receiving this aſſertion with horror and amazement,

A ſlander raiſed againſt the Quakers from a ſoldier's wild diſcourſe with Geo. Fox.

[m] George Fox's Journal, p. 43.

CHAP. III. 1650.

amazement, oppoſed it with becoming zeal, aſſerting on the contrary his firm belief of the ſcriptural account, that as certainly as there were a Chief Prieſt, Jews and Pilate, there outwardly, ſo certainly was Chriſt perſecuted by them outwardly, and ſuffered death by their hands. But from this converſation, notwithſtanding this clear evidence of his faith, a ſlanderous report was raiſed * *That the Quakers ſhould deny Chriſt, that ſuffered*

* This groundleſs calumny hath not (through the malevolence of ſucceſſive adverſaries) been ſuffered to become obſolete, being a charge brought againſt them (in contradiction to their poſitive aſſertion of their belief, who certainly know beſt what they believe) to this day. Moſheim hath revived this refuted reproach in a manner which does no honour to his candour, his moderation or his veracity. "The European Quakers (ſaith he) dare not ſo far preſume upon the indulgence of the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers as to deny openly the reality of the hiſtory of the life, mediation and ſufferings of Chriſt; but in America, where they have nothing to fear, *they are ſaid* to expreſs themſelves without ambiguity on this ſubject, and to maintain publicly that Chriſt never exiſted but in the hearts of the faithful." What a ſpecimen of illiberal miſrepreſentation is this! The European Quakers thought it their duty to pay obedience to the civil power in all things relating to civil peace and order: And where the laws of the ſtate required compliances contrary to the law of God in their conſciences, they were eminently remarkable for an innocent boldneſs in maintaining their teſtimonies publicly, and making open profeſſion of their faith, notwithſtanding the penalties they were expoſed to, for their faithfulneſs to the ſuperior law, as will abundantly appear in the ſequel; no fear of civil or eccleſiaſtical powers ever deterred them from aſſerting their doctrines and ſentiments in the face of the world, as believing them founded in truth. When their preſent perſecutors were fallen from the pinnacle of power, and by the ſucceſſive changes of government became again expoſed to perſecution themſelves, they with other diſſenters could diſguiſe and conceal themſelves and their ſentiments to avoid the penalties to which they were obnoxious, while theſe Quakers, ſo

ſuffered and died at Jeruſalem, which George aſſerted to be *utterly falſe*, "*and the leaſt thoughts* "*of it*, (ſaid he) *never came into our hearts.*" CHAP. III. 1650.

Although the civil war in England was terminated by the death of the late king, and the independent parliament was fixed in the ſeat of government

ſo called, (like Daniel praying with his windows open towards Jeruſalem, contrary to the king's decree) ſteadily adhered to their principles, and openly profeſſed them, without ſhrinking at the danger, or ſkulking in corners to avoid detection. They were not aſhamed to avow their principles, nor afraid of ſuffering for them; ſo far were they from not daring to preſume upon the indulgence of the civil or eccleſiaſtical powers, in preſerving the teſtimony of a good conſcience.

How egregiouſly uncandid then, uncharacteriſtic and ill-founded is the inſinuation, as if the Quakers privately held one opinion, and for fear of detection publicly avowed the contrary; and what proof or authority doth he advance in ſupport of this diſingenuous *innuendo?* truly none at all. Is the Chancellor of the univerſity of Gottingen a title of ſuch conſequence as to make his *ipſe dixit* paſs for a demonſtration, or is the teſtimony of an high Dutch D. D. to whom this people were not known, deſerving of any credit, without the cleareſt and moſt inconteſtible authority? I have not the opportunity of as intimate an acquaintance with the Americans as the Europeans; yet I believe that the faith of the people called Quakers is the ſame in this reſpect all the world over; and although the diſcipline exerciſed amongſt them relates chiefly to their moral conduct, yet I am firmly perſuaded that if any member or any body of that people ſhould maintain the doctrine, which this author inſinuates they do, the body at large, in their collective capacity, would reject them and their doctrine together. And really, when ſo heavy a charge is recorded as hiſtory with an air of confidence, upon no better grounds than hearſay, one is apt to be at a loſs which to admire moſt, the want of charity, modeſty or integrity in the writer.

This paſſage alſo conveys a caution how warily we ought to receive for truth the calumnious repreſentations of this people at this æra, when we find how readily every wild notion or action of any perſon, whom chance threw amongſt them, though not of their ſociety at all, was by public rumour affixed to them.

CHAP. III.

1650. George Fox ſolicited to go into the army, declares his ſcruple againſt wars.

government there, yet Ireland remained to be ſubdued, and the ruling party in Scotland had come to a reſolution, after the execution of Charles I. to acknowledge his ſon Charles II. as his ſucceſſor, and upon very humiliating conditions received and proclaimed him their king. The parliament of England therefore being likely to have a double war on their hands, thought it neceſſary to augment their forces, and many new ſoldiers being raiſed at this time, when [n] George Fox's term of commitment to the houſe of correction was nearly expired; the commiſſioners invited him to accept the office of a captain, and the ſoldiers were deſirous to have him for their commander; for which purpoſe being by the keeper of the houſe of correction brought up before the commiſſioners, in the market place, they there made him the offer of that preferment (as they called it) aſking him if he would not take up arms for the commonwealth againſt Charles Stuart. He told them, he knew from whence all wars did ariſe, even from the luſts, and that he lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occaſion of all wars. And they preſſing him more earneſtly with a ſhew of kindneſs to accept of their offer, which they ſaid they made out of regard to his virtues, and he ſtill rejecting their propoſals, and perſiſting to teſtify againſt all wars and fightings, their pretended regard to his virtue quickly gave way to the impetuoſity of their reſentment at his peremptory refuſal, and probably at his pointed teſtimony againſt their warring ſpirit under their religious pretenſions. They immediately commanded the jailer to put him into the common jail

[n] George Fox's Journal, p. 42.

jail among the felons; into a moſt filthy priſon, without any bed, he was accordingly thruſt amongſt thirty felons, and kept there near half a year, the companion of thieves (except that he was allowed the privilege of walking in the garden ſometimes.) What power of arbitrarily impriſoning theſe commiſſioners were inveſted with, or whether by martial or civil law, or any law but that of their own wills, we are uninformed: But this ſeems certain, that they were filled with rage againſt him, and had power to gratify it; which they did with unjuſtifiable ſeverity: For what greater puniſhment could be inflicted on a tender innocent youth, who feared God, and deteſted every ſpecies of wickedneſs, than to be thus pent up and confined in the company and converſation of the vileſt of mankind. It was in ſome degree analogous to the cruelty of the tyrant, who is feigned to have tied the living to the dead: Their bad expreſſions, and the obſcenity of their conduct and converſation, were no leſs grievous to him than the filthineſs and inconvenience of the priſon in which they were ſtowed together. However, not diſcouraged by the proſpect of the danger he might be expoſed to, he felt himſelf frequently conſtrained to reprove them for their wicked words and evil carriage towards each other. Yet it doth not appear he received any ill uſage from them, and people wondered he was ſo preſerved from harm amongſt ſuch company: And thoſe who watched for his halting could never catch a word or action from him to turn to his diſadvantage, which he did not attribute to his own wiſdom or ſtrength, but to the preſerving power of that Divine Being, to whoſe ſervice he was ſincerely devoted.

CHAP. III.

1650. Impriſoned amongſt felons.

During

CHAP. III.

1651. Pernicious effects of keeping priſoners long in jail.

During his confinement [o] he had occaſion to remark the pernicious effects of keeping priſoners long in jail, as it furniſhed them opportunity, by recounting their feats of villainy, to corrupt one another ſtill more, and to initiate the freſh men into all the myſteries of ingenious or daring depredation, ſo that they generally came from thence more confirmed in vice and debauchery. He therefore thought it his duty to communicate his obſervations hereon to the judges, and to point out the neceſſity of ſpeedy juſtice to prevent theſe bad conſequences, ſo prejudicial to the peace and ſecurity of ſociety.

Although few, if any, could be more circumſpect to avoid ſin and evil in their own particulars, and few were more averſe to them in others, yet he was affected with commiſeration for thoſe unhappy wretches who forfeited their liberty and lives to the laws of their country by their illicit practices; and eſpecially that the lives of men ſhould be taken away even for ſmall thefts. The compaſſion he felt on that account, particularly for a young woman in priſon, for robbing her maſter of ſome money, induced him to write to the judges and magiſtrates to move them to mercy in ſuch caſes, ſhewing them how contrary it was to the old law: That in the Jewiſh ſtate thieves were to make reſtitution; and if they wanted ability, they were to be ſold for their theft; putting them in mind to ſhew mercy, that they might receive it from the judge of all. Whatever effect his interpoſition might have, the young woman abovementioned was reprieved at the gallows,

[o] George Fox's Journal, p. 44.

gallows, and was afterwards in priſon convinced. CHAP. III.

1651.

The Scots, after the unfavourable battle of Dunbar, were obliged to admit their king to a greater participation of power than before that event their jealouſy of him ſuffered them to entruſt him with, and to admit him to a command in their army, which was ſo advantageouſly poſted, and ſo well ſupplied with proviſions from the northern parts, that Cromwell was unable to force them to an engagement, and therefore paſſed northward in order to cut off their proviſions, but by this movement left the paſſes into England unguarded. Charles, in expectation of being joined by all his friends, and the malecontents under the preſent government, ſeized the advantageous opportunity preſented to him, and advanced by great marches into the heart of England. Cromwell, to repair this overſight, purſuing with equal alacrity, overtook and defeated the Scots at Worceſter, which finally decided the conteſt, and left the independent parliament undiſputed maſters of the empire.

[p] This ſudden and unexpected invaſion without doubt created a great alarm in the nation, and excited the adherents to the preſent government to zealous exertions in procuring recruits from all quarters, to repel the invaders; upon this occaſion Juſtice Bennet ſent a conſtable to preſs George Fox for a ſoldier; but he who would not voluntarily accept of a command, and that from a conſcientious ſcruple, was not like to comply with their requiſition. The conſtables brought him before the commiſſioners,

[p] George Fox's Journal, p. 44.

CHAP. III. 1651.

ſioners, who poſitively inſiſted on his entering into the military line, and he acting upon principle, and perſiſting in his refuſal, they committed him to cloſe impriſonment, without bail or mainprize; whereupon he again appealed to their feelings in a letter addreſſed to Colonel Barton, and the reſt who were concerned in his commitment, in which, through the ſimplicity of his ſtyle, the chriſtian temper which dictated it is apparent; in ſubſtance as follows:

George Fox writes to Col. Barton, &c.

[q] You who profeſs yourſelves to be chriſtians, and one of you a miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt, conſider neither he nor his apoſtles did ever impriſon any; but his command was, "*Love your* "*enemies, and do good to them that hate you.*" The love of God perſecuteth none, but loveth all: Take heed of owning Chriſt in words, and denying him in life and power. The impriſoning my body is to gratify your own wills, but beware of giving way thereto, for that will hurt you. If the love of God had [tendered] your hearts ye would not have impriſoned me, but my love is to you as to all my fellow-creatures; and my intent in writing to you is, [in order] that you may [be incited to] weigh yourſelves, [in the balance of ſincerity and equity] and ſee how you ſtand. [approved in the ſight of God]

It is not improbable that this letter, together with the innocency and circumſpection of his conduct, made an impreſſion upon them; for they now began to grow uneaſy about him, from a conſciouſneſs, I ſuppoſe, of their exertion of an arbitrary and unjuſt power againſt an inoffenſive man, in whom they could find no crime to juſtify

[q] George Fox's Journal, p. 45.

CHAP. III.

1651.

juſtify their proceedings: For notwithſtanding their former repreſentation of him as a deceiver, ſeducer and blaſphemer, his innocency and integrity of life had ſo far gotten the better of their prejudices, that they now acknowledged him to be an honeſt and virtuous man. Let the world ſay what they will, God hath placed a witneſs for himſelf in the conſciences of all men which convinceth them of evil, whereby they may be brought to ſee their errors, but (it being too humiliating to acknowledge them) to preſerve a reputation, they often endeavour to conceal their perception thereof from the obſervation of others. They wanted to rid their hands of him, but how to preſerve ſome appearance of conſiſtency and palliate the ſeverity of their treatment ſeems to have been a ſubject of perplexity. [r] One while they talked of ſending him up to the parliament, another of baniſhing him to *Ireland*. At length they ſet him at liberty in the beginning of the winter 1651, after detaining him in priſon near twelve months, ſix months in the houſe of correction, and the reſt of the time in the common priſon.

George Fox diſcharged from his impriſonment.

[r] George Fox's Journal, p. 48.

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George Fox recommences his Travels and Goſpel Labours.—Much abuſed by the Populace.—His Patience in Suffering.—Remarkable Succeſs of his Miniſterial Labours at Sedbergh and Firbank Chapel.—John Audland and Francis Howgil being convinced return Money they had received for preaching.—Edward Burrough convinced.

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GEORGE FOX having regained his liberty, purſued his travels, and had meetings in ſeveral places in Nottinghamſhire and in Derbyſhire, and thence he paſſed into Yorkſhire. [a] Richard Farnſworth, among ſeveral others, was convinced at Balby: at Wakefield, James Naylor, and William Dewſbury and his wife, with many others, were alſo convinced. Theſe three men became powerful coadjutors to George Fox in the miniſtry of the goſpel. Of theſe William Dewſbury had been immediately convinced of the internal principle of light and grace before he ſaw George Fox; but when he met him he found they were in the unity of the ſame ſpirit, and thereupon gave him the right hand of fellowſhip, and joined him in ſociety and in his miniſterial labours.

1651. George Fox recommences his travels and goſpel labours, to the convincement of ſeveral.

Paſſing on to Beverly he went to the public worſhip-houſe; and after the preacher had done he exhorted him and the people, directing them to Chriſt their teacher with ſuch an authority as brought a great dread and awfulneſs over the aſſembly,

At Beverly preaches with great power.

[a] George Fox's Journal, p. 49, &c.

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ſembly, and his miniſtry in theſe parts was effectual to the convincement of many people, and amongſt them ſome perſons of account: Captain Purſloe and juſtice Hotham were in the number of his friends and favourers of his doctrine, being convinced in their underſtandings, though it doth not appear they openly joined him in profeſſion, yet their countenance and favour were conducive to protect him from the inſults and abuſe, to which in ſome other places he had been expoſed.

[b] That an extraordinary power attended his miniſtry in this place appears from a relation of this juſtice Hotham. "That a great woman "coming to him upon buſineſs, told him in diſ-"courſe that the laſt ſabbath-day there was an "angel or ſpirit came into the church at Be-"verly, and ſpoke the wonderful things of God, "to the aſtoniſhment of all that were there; "and when it had done it paſſed away, and "they did not know whence it came or whither "it went." Now, although this relation may ſeem the effect of a ſuperſtitious imagination, yet her account bears the marks of an uncommon influence attending his miniſtry, whereby the audience were greatly affected.

In the afternoon of the ſame day he went to another worſhip-houſe about two miles from Beverly, where, after the preacher had done, he ſpoke very largely, and expounded the way of life and truth, and the grounds of election and reprobation. The people were ſo much affected with his doctrine, that they requeſted him to favour them with another opportunity of hearing him; but he directed them to a better inſtructor

[b] George Fox's Journal, p. 50.

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1651. tor that would abide with them, the ſpirit of Chriſt in their own hearts, and ſo paſſed away. For it was not his deſire to ſeek men's admiration or reſpect, ſo much as to obtain and preſerve peace with his Maker, in conſequence of the faithful diſcharge of his duty; or to gather a party to himſelf as a leader; as to gather the people to their internal teacher, who points out the way to walk in, when we turn to the right hand or to the left.

1652. [c] Continuing in the proſecution of his travels and of his miniſtry, he met with various ſucceſs, and a variety of occurrences which the limits I have preſcribed to myſelf do not allow me particularly to relate. He went on northward through moſt parts of Yorkſhire, where he met with little or no reſtraint from the magiſtrates; but received much abuſe from the rude multitude in many places. He alſo repeatedly experienced the want of hoſpitality in theſe parts, being refuſed entertainment or lodging at the inns, though he offered to pay for both; whereby he was obliged ſeveral times to take up his lodging in the open air, or under ſuch ſhelter as he could meet with in the fields; yet being on a good foundation, and engaged in a good cauſe, he was not diſcouraged by theſe hardſhips from a ſteady perſeverance in the way of his duty.

Much abuſed by the populace.

His patience in ſufferings.

And under theſe ſufferings he manifeſted on all occaſions the meek and forgiving temper of a Chriſtian; as at Tichhill, where the clerk ſtruck him ſo violently with a bible in the public worſhip-houſe, as to make his face run down with blood, where, after this the people thruſt him out of the ſteeple-houſe, threw him down and dragged

[c] George Fox's Journal, p. 51.

dragged him along the ſtreet, and took away his hat: When he got up, covered with blood and dirt, he only endeavoured to convince them of the evil of their doings, by repreſenting to them how inconſiſtent their conduct was with the peaceable ſpirit of Chriſtians, and how they diſhonoured Chriſtianity thereby: and ſome moderate juſtices who had heard how he was abuſed, coming to examine into this riot, he would not appear as an accuſer againſt any of them; but freely forgave them all, evidencing in his example, that he was not as thoſe whom he found it his duty frequently to reprove, who ſpeak of Chriſt and the ſcriptures, while they do not conform their lives thereto; but that he was eſpecially careful to regulate his whole converſation by that internal principle of light and grace which he preached to others, and by the uniformity of a Chriſtian conduct to exemplify the excellency thereof. This, doubtleſs, greatly contributed to give ſucceſs to his plain but prevailing miniſtry, which he continued to exert for the gathering of the people from the uncertain teachers of the world, to Chriſt the unerring teacher and ſure guide to ſalvation.

1652.

Remarkable ſucceſs of his miniſterial labours at Sedbergh,

Coming to Sedbergh on a fair day, and preaching firſt in the fair, and afterwards retiring into the ſteeple-houſe yard, abundance of people flocked after him, when he preached ſeveral hours. Several prieſts were preſent, yet none of them made the leaſt objection or oppoſition to his doctrine; but one Francis Howgill, an independent preacher, was ſo much affected therewith, as well as the powerful manner of delivering it, as to acknowledge, "*This "man ſpeaks with authority, and not as the ſcribes.*"

Many

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Many were convinced that day, and amongſt them Captain Ward.

1652. and at Firbank chapel.

On the firſt day following he went to Firbank chapel in Weſtmoreland, where Francis Howgill aforeſaid, and John Audland, had been preaching in the morning. About noon, after refreſhing himſelf with a little water from a brook, he ſat down on the top of a rock contiguous to the chapel, in order to hold a meeting there; at this the people, who had been accuſtomed to look upon the church, ſo called, as a ſacred edifice, where only worſhip could be properly celebrated, ſeemed ſurprized that he did not go into the chapel; but he, eſteeming it part of his miſſion to bring them off from their ſuperſtitious veneration for theſe places, which prieſtcraft, in the dark ages, had introduced, informed them that there was no inherent ſanctity in the ground or building beyond that on which he ſtood. To a large audience of many hundreds he preached for a conſiderable ſpace of time, directing them to the ſpirit of God in themſelves, that ſo they might be turned from darkneſs to light, and from the power of ſatan unto God, &c. He was largely opened in his miniſtry at this time, and was attended with a convincing power and authority, greatly affecting the hearts of the auditory, whereby many of them, and in particular the teachers of that congregation, became proſelytes to his doctrine; of theſe were John Audland and Francis Howgill, both of whom having been zealous preachers amongſt the Independents, became in ſome time noted publiſhers of theſe doctrines, which, through the miniſtry of George Fox, they had embraced as truth; and as theſe doctrines condemned as antichriſtian

John Audland and Francis Howgill being convinced, return the money they had received for preaching.

antichriſtian the teachers for hire, they gave back the money they had received from the pariſh of Colton in Lancaſhire for preaching there. CHAP. IV. 1652.

George went from thence to Preſton-Patrick and Kendal, at each of which places he had meetings to good effect, many being gained over to the acknowledgment of the truth publiſhed by him; and in theſe places are large meetings of the people called Quakers to this day. From Kendal he proceeded to Under-barrow, accompanied by ſeveral perſons, with whom he had much reaſoning, eſpecially with Edward Burrough, a young man of good natural parts, yet not able to withſtand the ſolid expreſſions and weighty truths delivered by George Fox. This Edward Burrough became an eminent member of this community; and during his ſhort life, a principal promoter and ſupporter of its cauſe, both in his diſcourſe and writings.

CHAP. V.

George Fox goes to Swarthmore.—Lecture at Ulverſton, at which George Fox preaches; and in Judge Fell's Family, who are moſt of them convinced.—The Judge informed, and alarmed thereat.—His Wife in a diſtreſſing Dilemma.—George Fox vindicateth himſelf and his Doctrines to the Judge's Satisfaction.—Prieſt Lampit endeavours to incenſe Judge Fell againſt George Fox in vain.—Juſtice Sawrey ſtirs up the Rabble, from whom George Fox and others receive violent Abuſe.—Inſtances of more violent Abuſe.—Judge Fell iſſues Warrants to apprehend the Rioters.—George Fox accuſed of Blaſphemy, acquitted, and encouraged to preach, whereby ſeveral are convinced.

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HE next paſſed over to Lancaſhire by Cartmel and Ulverſtone to Swarthmore, the ſeat of Thomas Fell, a Welch judge, who was upon his circuit when George Fox came to his houſe, being an houſe of hoſpitality, open for the reception of miniſters and religious people. Next day there being a lecture at Ulverſton, George Fox went to it; when he came in they were ſinging, and after they had finiſhed this part of their ſervice, he ſtood upon a ſeat, and deſired liberty to ſpeak, which was granted: He there ſo plainly diſtinguiſhed the eſſential from the profeſſional part of religion, that Judge Fell's wife Margaret was effectually reached, ſo that ſhe ſat down in her pew and wept bitterly, crying

1652. George Fox goes to Swarthmore. Lecture at Ulverſtone; George Fox preacheth there.

1652.

ing in her ſpirit, "We are all thieves! we are "all thieves! We have taken the ſcripture in "words, and know nothing of them in our-"ſelves." George proceeding in his diſcourſe, and declaring againſt the falſe prophets, who take upon them to explain other men's words, while they were out of the life and ſpirit of thoſe whoſe expreſſions they pretended to explain, John Sawrey, a juſtice of peace, ordered him to be taken away; and after ſome time a conſtable executing the order, he continued his exhortation to the people in the grave-yard. In the evening he returned to Judge Fell's, and had an opportunity to preach in the family to that effect that moſt of them were convinced by him. Being a family of note their converſion made a great noiſe in the country, and raiſed George Fox many enemies, ſeveral of whom met the judge on his return home, and pre-poſſeſſed him with the melancholy intelligence, "That a great diſaſter had befallen his family; "that the Quakers were witches, and had "turned them from their religion; and that "he muſt ſend them away, or all the country "would be undone." Under the affecting impreſſion of this report he reached his houſe in perturbation, diſpleaſure, and anxiety of mind; nor was the anxiety of his wife ſhort of his, for being clearly convinced of the truth of the doctrines delivered by George Fox, ſhe thought it her duty to adhere thereto, and yet her affectionate regard for her huſband filling her with reluctance at the thoughts of giving him uneaſineſs, ſhe felt herſelf in a diſtreſſing ſtrait, between the apprehenſion of diſpleaſing her huſband or offending her maker; but James Naylor and Richard Farnſworth being then in the

Preacheth in Judge Fell's family, whereby moſt of them were convinced.

The Judge informed, and alarmed thereat.

His wife in a diſtreſſing dilemma.

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houſe, at her deſire had a conference with him, in which they conducted themſelves with ſo much prudence and moderation as greatly conduced to mitigate his diſpleaſure; and in the evening George Fox returned, and finding that Judge Fell was greatly prejudiced and incenſed againſt him and his principles, by the miſrepreſentations of the prieſts and profeſſors, and in particular by thoſe of Juſtice Sawrey, he entered into a free diſcuſſion of his principles and doctrines; anſwered all the judge's objections ſo fully and clearly from ſcripture that he was thoroughly ſatisfied, and aſſented to the truth and reaſonableneſs thereof. This judge's conduct was truly candid and reſpectable, highly becoming his ſtation as a judge, and honourable to his character as a man and a chriſtian, to hear the defendant before he condemned him, and to indulge him with a fair opportunity of vindicating himſelf from the miſrepreſentations of malice and prejudice. Had George Fox, his adherents, and their ſucceſſors, always met with the like candid treatment, they had not been ſo often, and ſo lately unfairly repreſented to the world through malice or ignorance, by thoſe who do not love, or thoſe who do not know them.

George Fox vindicates himſelf and his doctrine to the Judge's ſatisfaction.

The next morning after this conference, Lampit, prieſt of Ulverſtone, paid a viſit to the judge, and walking out with him into the garden, he had much converſation with him, no ways in favour of his new gueſts, to whom he was no friend; but his attempts againſt them were of little effect, for the judge was too clearly convinced by the evening conference with George Fox, not to receive eaſily impreſſions to their prejudice. Inſtead of liſtening to the inſinuati-

Prieſt Lampit endeavours to incenſe Judge Fell againſt George Fox in vain.

ons

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ons of the prieſt, he ſoon gave a demonſtrative proof of his favourable diſpoſition to the Quakers by a voluntary offer of his houſe for a meeting place, in conſequence whereof there was a pretty large meeting the firſt day following, and thenceforward a ſettled meeting continued in that houſe 'till the year 1690, when a new meeting-houſe was built there. 1652.

This impreſſion on judge Fell's mind in their favour was very mortifying to thoſe who wiſhed the ſuppreſſion of this riſing ſociety, as in him they found a ſteady friend and protector: Juſtice Sawrey and ——— Lampit, prieſt of Ulverſtone, were particularly chagrined hereat, and let no favourable opportunity ſlip of gratifying their reſentment, and making them feel the effects of their averſion and ill will. Soon after this there being a lecture day at Ulverſtone, and Judge Fell being from home, George Fox went to the worſhip-houſe on that occaſion, and attempting to ſpeak there, Sawrey came up to him and told him if he would ſpeak according to the ſcriptures he might ſpeak; George replied, he ſhould ſpeak according to the ſcriptures, and prove his doctrine thereby: Then Sawrey inſiſted, in plain contradiction to his own voluntary propoſal, that he ſhould not ſpeak at all; notwithſtanding which he proceeded to make uſe of the liberty given him, and the people were attentive and heard him with ſatisfaction, 'till Sawrey (the firſt promoter of perſecution in the North) incenſed them againſt him, and incited them to abuſe him greatly. By the inſtigation of this man, the place and time of worſhip were converted into a ſcene of riot and tumult, for there George Fox was kicked, knocked down and trampled upon in his preſence. At laſt Sawrey

This prieſt and Sawrey diſpleaſed, ſtir up the rabble,

from whom Geo. Fox and others receive violent abuſe.

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rey took him from the people, and delivered him to the conſtables and other officers, with orders to whip him and put him out of the town, which orders having executed in a rough and violent manner, they delivered him over to the rude multitude, who being provided with ſtaves, hedge-ſtakes and buſhes of holly, aſſaulted him with ſuch fury, and beat him in various parts of the body, head, arms and ſhoulders, to that degree that he fell down fainting and ſenſeleſs on a wet common. After lying a while he recovered, and the return he made them was an endeavour to bring them to a ſenſe of the inconſiſtency of their conduct with Chriſtianity, informing them that this carriage was more like that of Heathens or Jews than true Chriſtians, and manifeſted the fruits of their prieſt's miniſtry. Returning to Swarthmore, he found his friends there humanely employed in dreſſing the wounds of thoſe who had been cut and bruiſed by Lampit's hearers. For although the chief force of their violence had fallen on George Fox, ſeveral others, not only of thoſe who openly joined in profeſſion with him, but of ſuch alſo as diſcovered a partiality towards them who did, in this day of lecture perverted into riot, felt the injurious effects of the licenſe given to a mob, diveſted of the reſtraints of law, religion and humanity.

Remark.

At this time the current of popular odium ran very ſtrongly againſt this inoffenſive people hereaway; and it is not to be wondered at that the unthinking multitude ſhould give the looſe rein to their propenſity to evil, when thoſe whoſe proper buſineſs it was to reſtrain them, and to inſtruct them better, ſo far forgot the duty of their offices as to encourage and abet this miſchievous

miſchievous diſpoſition in them. Magiſtrates (inveſted with power to preſerve peace and good order in the ſtate, to ſupport the laws, and to be "a terror to evil-doers, and a praiſe to them "that do well") yielding to the influence of their teachers, or the impulſe of their paſſions, ſo far as to inſtigate the populace to acts of riot, in violation of law, peace and juſtice. * Preachers (who ought to promote righteouſneſs, truth and chriſtian forbearance) proſtituting the pulpits to the unbecoming purpoſe of propagating calumny, in malicious miſrepreſentations and fabulous tales, in order to ſet off the Quakers, ſo called, in odious colours, and to point them out as objects of deteſtation, inſult and abuſe.

By ſuch unjuſtifiable proceedings were the populace ſtimulated to rage and violence againſt this people, who did injury to none. George Fox in about two weeks after the abuſe he met with at Ulverſtone, paſſing over to the iſland of Walney in company with James Naylor, there met

Inſtances of greater violence.

* One Marſhall, prieſt of Wakefield, was not aſhamed to promulgate this ridiculous report, that George Fox carried bottles about him, and by making people drink thereof made them follow him That he rode upon a great black horſe, and was ſeen in one county upon his horſe in one hour, and in the ſame hour in another county threeſcore miles off; but by theſe abſurd fictions he miſſed his aim, ſo far as to drive away many of his hearers.

Camelford, prieſt of a chapel about Cartmel, upon George Fox's beginning to ſpeak after he had done, incited the rude multitude to fall upon him, who haled him out, ſtruck and kicked him, and threw him headlong over a ſtone wall.

An idle report was propagated of the Quakers being witches (as appears by the intelligence carried to Judge Fell) than which none could be invented more miſchievous among the ſuperſtitious vulgar of thoſe days, who not only believed ſuch reports, but that no treatment could be too bad for thoſe who lay under the imputation of being ſuch.

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met with equal or greater abuſe. At Cockan a man ſnapped a piſtol at him, but it would not go off; and he was no ſooner landed on the iſland than he was aſſaulted by about forty men, armed with ſtaves and fiſhing poles, with an intent to puſh him into the ſea, which when he prevented, by preſſing into the midſt of them, he was knocked down and ſtunned: For James Lancaſter, having been convinced there, they pretended that he had bewitched him, and promiſed his wife if ſhe would let them know when he came there they would put him to death, and this ſeemed to be their intention; "but "(ſays he) the Lord's power preſerved me, "that they could not take my life." James Lancaſter's wife was amongſt the foremoſt in this aſſault, for when George Fox recovered his ſenſes he obſerved her buſy in throwing ſtones at his face, while her huſband was endeavouring to protect him from the violence of the multitude, by covering him with his own body, to keep off the blows and ſtones aimed at him; but this woman being afterwards convinced, repented of the evil ſhe had been hurried into in this abuſe, as did ſome others of thoſe concerned therein. When George at length recovered his feet they beat him down again into the boat, which James Lancaſter obſerving, came to him and ſet him back over the water; and when he got off they fell on James Naylor in the like unmerciful manner. When George Fox landed again at Cockan he met with no better treatment, for the people there roſe upon him with pitchforks, flails and ſtaves, crying out, "*kill him*;" and after giving him much abuſe, drove him ſome way out of the town and left him, after which he walked three miles to a friend's

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a friend's houſe named Thomas Hutton, where Thomas Lawſon (who had been a prieſt, and was convinced by George Fox) lodged. When arrived at this houſe he was hardly able to ſpeak by reaſon of the wounds and bruiſes he had received, and could barely inform them of the jeopardy in which he left James Naylor, whereupon they mounted their horſes, went in ſearch of him, and brought him thither that night.

Next day Margaret Fell ſent an horſe to fetch him to Swarthmore, but it was with great difficulty, and in much pain he got thither, through the ſoreneſs of his bruiſes, being ſcarce able to bear the motion of the horſe.

Then the juſtices Sawrey and Thompſon iſſued a warrant againſt him, but judge Fell coming home prevented its preſent effect: He was greatly diſpleaſed with the abuſive treatment which George Fox and his friends had received in his abſence, repreſenting to Sawrey the impropriety and illegality of his conduct in fomenting riots and tumults in the country. He alſo ſent forth warrants into the iſle of Walney to apprehend the rioters, whereupon ſome of them abſconded. Deſiring George Fox to give him a narrative of his abuſe, he only told him, "They could do no otherwiſe in the "ſpirit wherein they were; that they mani-"feſted the fruits of their prieſts miniſtry, and "their profeſſion of religion to be wrong;" which made the judge remark, he ſpoke as of a matter in which he had no concern.

Judge Fell iſſues warrants for apprehending the rioters.

His enemies did not reſt ſatisfied with ſtirring up the rabble againſt him, they next made an attempt

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George Fox accuſed of blaſphemy and acquitted.

attempt to endanger his life * by a falſe accuſation of ſpeaking blaſphemy in a certain meeting, and ſuborned falſe witneſſes againſt him to prove it. Upon their information it was that the before-mentioned juſtices granted their warrant to apprehend him, which, although it was not executed, George Fox, whoſe fortitude, ſupported by the conſciouſneſs of his integrity and innocence, never declined a fair trial of his doctrine or practice, hearing of it, voluntarily appeared at the enſuing ſeſſions at Lancaſter to face his accuſers, and hear what they had to lay to his charge. There appeared not leſs than forty prieſts to aid and abet the accuſation, who choſe one Marſhal, prieſt of Lancaſter, for their orator; a young prieſt, and two prieſts ſons, for witneſſes; but theſe witneſſes failed of anſwering their ends; for after the firſt was examined, the ſecond on his examination was ſo much at a loſs to anſwer the queſtions put to him, that he acknowledged *he could not ſay it*, (I ſuppoſe repeat the blaſphemous expreſſions) *but the other could.*

This drew the following interrogatory reproof from the juſtices: "Have you ſworn it, and "given it in already upon oath, and now ſay "that he can ſay it? It ſeems you did not hear "thoſe words ſpoken yourſelf, though you have "ſworn it."

There were in the court ſeveral perſons, men of integrity and reputation in the country, who had been at that meeting wherein the witneſſes ſwore he uttered thoſe blaſphemous expreſſions, who

* By the ordinance of the Parliament, as they called themſelves, if he had been convicted, he was to be baniſhed, and returning without licenſe was judged felony.

who declared in court, "That the oath which "these evidences had taken was altogether "false; and that no such words as they had "sworn against him were spoken by him at that "meeting."

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The justices finding the witnesses did not agree, and perceiving that the prosecution was malicious, discharged him. Then Judge Fell, after speaking to the justices who granted the warrant, and shewing them the errors thereof, in concert with Colonel West, granted a supersedeas to stop its execution. * This confederacy of priests to inflict punishment on an innocent man, and to stop the progress of those doctrines he propagated, received a signal defeat in both attempts. For he was not only honourably acquitted in the open sessions of the false accusations with which their malice had charged him, to their lasting disgrace and confusion; but, being called upon by the aforesaid Colonel West, that if he had any thing to say to the people he might freely declare it: He, feeling a proper qualification, made use of the liberty granted him; and though he met with opposition from some of the angry priests, they were so clearly confuted, and divine truths so plainly and powerfully opened by him, that many new proselytes to his doctrine were gained that day; and amongst them Justice Benson of Westmoreland, Major Ripan, mayor of Lancaster, and Thomas Briggs (who had shewn much aversion and opposition to the Quakers)

Acquitted,

and encouraged to preach, whereby several were convinced.

* When we see the lengths these priests could go to wreak their malice, have we not reason to suspect their descriptions of this people of being tinctured with the same spirit, and therefore to be credited with caution, and some grains of allowance for the disposition in which they were written?

CHAP. V. 1652. Quakers) was so effectually convinced, that he became a faithful minister of the gospel amongst them, and so continued to the end of his days.

CHAP. VI.

The Society encreaseth under their Sufferings.—Sufferings of James Naylor.—James Naylor imprisoned for not putting off his Hat, and as a Vagabond; and Francis Howgill along with him.—James Naylor tried for Blasphemy and acquitted.—Note on Nicholson and Burn's Extract from Higginson's Memoirs.—Imprisonment of Thomas Aldam.

CHAP. VI. 1652. BY patient suffering, through divine support, and the testimony of a good conscience, through zealous exertions of their ministerial labours, under persuasion of duty; the combined efforts of a licentious populace, of malevolent priests and professors, and of persecuting magistrates, proved ineffectual to check the progress of this society. Meetings of this people were now settled in many of the central and northern parts of the nation, and several of them had joined in the work of the ministry with the approbation and to the edification of their fellow members, so that the number of preachers was augmented to twenty-five, amongst whom Francis Howgill, Edward Burrough, John Camm, John Audland, Richard Hubberthorn, with the three before-mentioned,

The society encreases under their sufferings.

mentioned, viz. Richard Farnſworth, William Dewſbury and James Naylor, were eminent for their ſervices and their ſufferings; for they had not only a ſhare with George Fox in his miniſterial labours, but alſo in his mal-treatment. 1652.

[a] For in the courſe of this year James Naylor and Francis Howgill were both impriſoned at Appleby; James being at a meeting at Orton, five prieſts with many people came thither; the prieſts aſked him many queſtions, to which he gave ſuch anſwers as fruſtrated their purpoſes of enſnaring him in his words. However, againſt the ſucceeding firſt day, they had prepared ſermons filled with invectives againſt him, repreſenting him as a blaſphemer, a denier of the reſurrection and humanity of Chriſt, and a contemner of authority; and ſome of them indulged their ſpleen ſo far (as their hearers reported) as to aſſert it would be doing God ſervice to knock him down. Having thus prepared the ruder ſort of people, and one of the prieſt's ſons drawing a great company of them together, beſet the houſe where he was, and dragged him with violence into a field, where a juſtice, ſent for by a prieſt, was preſent, who commanded him to anſwer ſuch queſtions as the prieſt ſhould put to him, who after much conference, getting little advantage againſt him, grew angry, and warning the people not to receive him into their houſes turned away, and the people beginning to be abuſive, the juſtice was about doing the ſame, as if they intended leaving him to the mercy of the populace. But at James's remonſtrance, the juſtice turning back reſcued him for the preſent: yet at the inſtance of the prieſts, who were diſpleaſed

Sufferings of James Naylor.

[a] Beſſe's Suffering of the Quakers, vol. ii. p. 2.

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1652.

James Naylor imprisoned for not putting off his hat, and as a vagabond,

pleaſed thereat, he was again ſeized by the rabble, and brought before the prieſts and juſtice, at a neighbouring alehouſe, and becauſe he did not put off his hat, they committed him to priſon for his pretended contempt, and alſo as being a vagabond, under pretence, that none there knew whence he came; for they had ſhut out all his acquaintances: Upon his appealing to the juſtice that he knew him, they having been in the army together ſeveral years, the juſtice replying it was no matter, made his mittimus and carried him to Kirby-ſteven that night and placed a guard over him. Amongſt ſeveral more of his friends, Francis Howgill accompanied him thither, who took an opportunity to preach to the people, a conſiderable number being gathered in the ſtreet; upon which, being brought before a juſtice, after an examination, in which they endeavoured to wreſt his expreſſions in order to criminate him, he was likewiſe put under a guard, and next day, together with James Naylor, ſent to Appleby gaol.

and Francis Howgill along with him.

J. Naylor tried for blaſphemy, and acquitted.

At the ſeſſions held in Appleby in the month called January, 1652, James Naylor was tried on an indictment for blaſphemy; but after a long examination, it appearing that the * prieſts could

* Nicholſon and Burn, authors of reputation, have thought it worth while to draw from obſcurity to public view, as late as the year 1777, an extract from ſome memoirs of Higginſon, vicar of Kirby Steven, (one of the prieſts before-mentioned, and the only one mentioned by name, as a principal in promoting the abuſe offered James Naylor by the populace, and this proſecution for blaſphemy) containing a recital of various extravagancies committed by the people called Quakers at this period;—ſuch as foaming, bellowing out "repent, repent; wo, wo," &c. ſome of them running naked about the ſtreets, and preaching naked at the market-croſs—many

could not make out the charge exhibited againſt him, he was diſcharged by the juſtices from his impriſonment, CHAP. VI. 1652.

of them in their aſſemblies falling down ſuddenly as in an epileptic fit, and lying grovelling on the ground, foaming at the mouth, their lips quavering, their fleſh and joints trembling, and their bellies ſwelling like a blown bladder: All which eaſily accounts for the name of Quakers being given them.—In their preaching they called themſelves the way, the truth and the life.—One James Milner declared himſelf to be the ſon of God and Chriſt.

The narration from which this abſtract was taken was republiſhed in the Monthly Review for March, 1778, which gave occaſion to the following remonſtrance to the reviewers, publiſhed in the ſucceeding Review.

"To the Authors of the Monthly Review.

"Gentlemen,

"You have ſelected an extract from Nicholſon and Burn's "Hiſtory of Weſtmorland in your laſt Review, reſpecting "the firſt Quakers, and, by adding the epithet *curious* to it, "you have, in ſome degree, given it your ſanction. The "account is ſaid to be drawn from ſome (I ſuppoſe before "unpubliſhed) memoirs of a Mr. Higginſon, formerly vicar "of Kirkby Stephen.

"It ſeems ſomewhat extraordinary, that a gentleman of "Dr. Burn's great and deſerved reputation in the literary "world ſhould have thought it fair to draw from its obſcu-"rity a paper, written at a time when the minds of moſt men "were heated with religious prejudice, and when the clergy, "more particularly, were irritated againſt the Quakers, be-"cauſe their tenets, oppoſing the venal ſupport of the prieſt-"hood, ſapped the very foundations of its ſplendour and au-"thority. Nor perhaps did they ſcruple to add the epithet "of hireling to thoſe, who making a trade of religion, "brought it into diſrepute amongſt the people.

"At the quarter ſeſſions at Appleby in Weſtmoreland in "January 1652, James Naylor, a Quaker, was tried for "blaſphemy. The trial is ſtill extant, and it appears from "thence that —— Higginſon, vicar of Kirkby Stephen, was "a promoter of the proſecution. Naylor was then honoura-"bly diſcharged, nothing of that kind being proved againſt "him, unleſs it be reckoned blaſphemy to oppoſe Higginſon's "aſſertion, repeated in open court, that *Chriſt is in heaven*

"*with*

CHAP. VI. 1652.

imprisonment, which had continued about twenty weeks. Whether Francis Howgill's confinement was

" *with a carnal body.* Both the temper of the good vicar, " and the complexion of his divinity, may perhaps be inferred " from this anecdote.

" The evidence of Higginson carries with it all the marks " of that wanton exaggeration which characterises personal " animosity. The charge is supported by no proof. Gerard " Croese, indeed, in his History of the Quakers, mentions " a petition from the ministers, and sundry other persons of " Lancashire, against George Fox, James Naylor, and their " associates, in which they are accused of foaming at the " mouth in their conventicles, and of other strange agitations; " and George Fox, in particular, of having said that he was " equal to God, the only Judge of the World, Christ, the " Way, the Truth, and the Life. One James Melver (per- " haps Milner) was also charged with saying that he was God " and Christ, and with prophesying that the day of judg- " ment was at hand, that there should be no more justices in " Lancashire, and that the parliament should be plucked up " by the roots. Higginson's narrative and this petition bear " striking marks of affinity with each other, and probably " sprung from the same source. Croese, however, who was " no Quaker, nor is his history partial to the Quakers, ac- " knowledges, 'that these charges were so completely re- " futed, that it was apparent they who invented them were " wicked men, and they who believed in them were fools.' " He excepts the mad presumption of Melver (or Milner), " whom he says the Quakers rebuked. The truth is, that " as the Quakers, for the reason above-mentioned, were es- " pecially singled out as the objects of priestly indignation, " every rumour to their disadvantage was eagerly adopted, " and frequently spread with circumstances of aggravation. " Thus a Vicar of Wakefield, whose name was Marshal, " reported of George Fox, *that he rode upon a great black* " *horse, and was seen within an hour at two places sixty miles* " *distant from each other.* If the papers of this Vicar were " narrowly searched into, it might, possibly, be found record- " ed as his opinion, that the first Quakers were witches. It " must, notwithstanding, be acknowledged, that it was not " unusual for some of the most zealous to go sometimes into " the public places of worship, and after the preacher had

" finished

was of a longer or ſhorter continuance than this, we have no account.

1652. Thomas Aldam impriſoned.

Thomas Aldam, one of thoſe early preachers, was alſo impriſoned this year in York, at the inſtigation of the prieſt of Warnſworth, for uttering ſome expreſſions after the prieſt had ended his ſermon. At York aſſizes he was fined 40l. for coming into the court with his hat on: and was a ſecond time impriſoned in York caſtle for refuſing to pay tithes, and detained in priſon two years and ſix months. He had alſo, for 11l. 10s. demanded for tithes, taken from him goods worth 58l. 10s.

In the courſe of the ſame year ſeveral others, whoſe religious concern induced them to exhort the prieſts and their congregations at the cloſe of their public aſſemblies for worſhip, met with the like ſevere treatment; but to deſcribe particularly the ſufferings they underwent for their Chriſtian teſtimonies, would carry me far beyond my propoſed limits. Their ſuffering in the different counties of England and elſewhere, have been digeſted by Joſeph Beſſe, and make two volumes in folio.

" finiſhed his diſcourſe, to reprove both prieſt and people for " practices which they conſidered as ſuperſtitious or anti- " chriſtian.

" Amidſt the ſwarm of ſects which diſtinguiſh the laſt " century, there was one, of which little is now known, but " that the practices of its adherents outraged all decency and " order. They were called Ranters. The enemies of the " Quakers found it frequently ſuitable to their purpoſe to " confound them with this ephemeron ſect, whoſe principles " were nevertheleſs totally incompatible with thoſe of the " Quakers. There is a paper ſtill extant, written by Ed- " ward Burroughs, an active preacher amongſt the Quakers, " againſt the licentious practices of theſe people."

HISTORY

OF THE

PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

BOOK II.

From the End of the Commonwealth to the Reſtoration of monarchical Government.

CHAP. I.

Oliver Cromwell diſſolves the Parliament—The Change of Government brings no Advantage to the Quakers.—George Fox goes into Cumberland.—At Carliſle he preaches at the Market-croſs, and in the Steeple-houſe.—Summoned before the Magiſtrates and impriſoned.—Rumour of his being to be hanged.—The Judge and Magiſtrates in Conſultation about bringing him in guilty of Death; being puzzled therein, reſolve not to bring him to Trial.—A fair Trial demanded without Effect.—George Fox confined among Felons and cruelly treated.—James Parnell convinced.—The Parliament enquire into George Fox's Caſe.—George Fox releaſed.—M. Halhead greatly abuſed.

WE are now entering upon the year 1653, in the forepart whereof another revolution in government took place: The parliament conceiving CHAP. I. 1653.

CHAP. I.

1653. Oliver Cromwell diſſolves the parliament.

a jealouſy of Oliver Cromwell's ambition, power and influence in the army; and having upon trivial grounds commenced and proſecuted a naval war againſt the Dutch with ſignal ſucceſs, very plauſibly inſiſted on the intolerable additional expence to which the nation was put, to maintain a land army (now no longer neceſſary) and urged the neceſſity of a reduction thereof. Cromwell wanted not penetration to ſee the tendency of theſe deſigns to lay him aſide, and therefore reſolved to anticipate them. Bringing the officers and body of the army, now the real maſters of the nation, into his views, he without heſitation forcibly diſſolved the remnant of the long parliament, and, in conjunction with the principal officers, took the reins of government into his own hands.

The change of government brings no advantage to the Quakers.

This change of government doth not appear to have produced any revolution in favour of the Quakers, ſo called; for although the ſupreme power was ſeized into new hands, the ſubordinate magiſtrates were continued in office by the new council of ſtate, nor do I find any material change among the eccleſiaſtics, ſo that their former perſecutors retained power to be ſtill troubleſome to them: and their ſufferings continued to encreaſe with the increaſe of their numbers.

George Fox goes into Cumberland.

George Fox, ſtill indefatigable in his labours, in ſpite of all oppoſition and the diſcouragement of his ſufferings, paſſed about this time into Cumberland, and from place to place his miniſtry was ſo well received, that many new converts were gained to his doctrines in moſt places which he viſited. Coming to Carliſle, he firſt preached to the ſoldiers in garriſon there, directing them as uſual to Chriſt as their teacher, and to the meaſure of his ſpirit in themſelves, warning them to

to do violence to no man, but ſhew forth a Chriſtian life. CHAP. I.

On the market-day, he went up to the Market-croſs, and cautioned the people againſt fraud and over-reaching in their dealings, and to ſpeak the truth one to another. On the firſt day following he went to the Steeple-houſe, and after the prieſt had done he preached to the people with a reaching power. The rude people of the town roſe and aſſaulted him in the Steeple-houſe; but the governor ſent down ſome muſqueteers to appeaſe the tumult, who, taking George by the hand in a friendly manner, led him out and reſcued him from further inſult. A lieutenant who had been convinced took him to his houſe, and there they had a quiet and ſatisfactory meeting. The next day he was ſummoned before the magiſtrates, who falling into diſcourſe with him upon religion, in the courſe of their converſation, perceiving their emptineſs as to the eſſence thereof, he endeavoured with his accuſtomed ſincerity to ſhew them, that although they were high in profeſſion (being Preſbyterians and Independents) yet they were without the poſſeſſion of what they profeſſed. This plain dealing exaſperating them, who, it's too probable, affected the name of religious men, and the appearance of purity more than the ſubſtance of pure religion; they committed him to priſon under the hard names of *a blaſphemer*, *an heretic and a ſeducer*, where he lay 'till the aſſizes. And in the interim the general diſcourſe was, and from the diſpoſition that prevailed againſt him at this time and in this place, it's to be feared, the general wiſh was *that he was to be hanged*. The high ſheriff, whoſe name was Wilfry Lawſon, indulged his rancour ſo far as to ſay, *he would guard him*

1653. At Carliſle preaches at the Market-croſs, and at the Steeple-houſe.

Summoned before the magiſtrates,

and committed to priſon.

Rumour of his being to be hanged.

to

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to execution himſelf. And the notion was ſo univerſal that curioſity drew ſeveral ladies (ſo called) to ſee him, as a man that was to die. When the aſſizes came the judge and magiſtrates held a conſultation how to proceed againſt him in order to bring him in guilty of death; but the judge's clerk ſtarting a queſtion that puzzled them and confounded their counſels, and finding that the charge of blaſphemy could not be made good againſt him, and that of conſequence if brought to a trial he muſt be acquitted, they concluded not to bring him to a trial at all.

1653. The judge and magiſtrates in conſultation to bring him in guilty of death, confounded, reſolve not to bring him to trial.

Anthony Pearſon demands a fair trial for George Fox without effect.

Anthony Pearſon, a juſtice of peace in Weſtmoreland, lately convinced, being then in Carliſle, and underſtanding the reſult of their conſultation, wrote to the judges, ſhewing the illegality of this reſolution, and demanding a fair trial for George Fox; but they paid no regard to this reaſonable demand of the ſubject's right, but left him to the magiſtrates of the town, encouraging them to treat him with rigour. He had hitherto been confined in the jailer's houſe ſo cloſely, that all his friends were denied acceſs to him; but the day after an order was ſent to the jailer to put him among the felons and murderers, in a priſon noiſome and filthy to the laſt degree, where, contrary to all decency, men and women were kept together, without any other convenience to eaſe nature than the room they were in; amongſt a crew ſo unclean that one woman was almoſt eaten up with lice. Yet theſe priſoners, vile as they were, behaved affectionately to him, received his admonitions with deference, and ſome of them became converted by his doctrine. But far different was the conduct of the jailers, being very cruel and abuſive, particularly that of the deputy, who in brutal rage would

George Fox confined among felons and cruelly treated.

would often fall upon his friends who came to see him, and himſelf alſo, with a great cudgel.

CHAP. I.

Whilſt he was confined in the dungeon here, among others who came to viſit and diſcourſe with him was one James Parnel, a youth of about ſixteen years of age, who was by his conference ſo effectually reached that he was convinced, received the truth in the love of it, and ſoon became a powerful miniſter himſelf, and the means of convincing many others, proving himſelf by his pen and his tongue, in the zealous promotion of ſolid religion, a workman that need not to be aſhamed; although for theſe zealous endeavours he underwent grievous perſecution, as will hereafter appear.

1653. James Parnel convinced by Geo. Fox.

The report that had been raiſed previous to the aſſizes, *that George Fox ſhould be put to death*, had by this time ſpread abroad; and it came to the ears of the * parliament then ſitting,

The parliament enquire into the circumſtance of Geo. Fox's offence.

* This was the parliament that is diſtinguiſhed by the denomination of *barebones*, and by ſome by that of the ſhort parliament, being a number of one hundred and twenty ſummoned by Oliver Cromwell, in order to amuſe the people with ſome reſemblance of a common-wealth, to take upon them the executive part of government. Many of them being ſelected from the middle rank of the people have given occaſion to ſundry hiſtorians to characterize them in terms remarkably contemptuous, as men of the loweſt birth and meaneſt intellects, choſen by Cromwell, particularly for their want of knowledge and experience in affairs, in proſpect that the reins of government might revert into his own hands: But others ſpeak of them with more reſpect, as a convention in which were ſeveral perſons of worth, fortune and abilities; and as the principal objection to their conduct ſeems to be a project they were deſigning to put in execution, which the people had been flattered with the hopes of before but diſappointed, viz. the abridging of the delay and expenſe of law-ſuits, and aboliſhing tithes. I am ready to join

Smollet.

M'Aulay.

CHAP. I.

1653.

ting, *that a young man at Carliſle was to die for religion*, whereupon they ordered a letter of enquiry to the ſheriffs and magiſtrates concerning him.

The juſtices Benſon and Pearſon having more than once demanded liberty of the magiſtrates to viſit George Fox in priſon, and being refuſed, wrote to them, emphatically deſcribing the turpitude of perſecution in general, and their own exorbitant ſeverity in particular, as exceeding in inhumanity that of the heathens, who having the apoſtle Paul in cuſtody, refuſed him not the conſolation of the viſits of his friends and acquaintance. At length, however, Anthony Pearſon got an opportunity, in company with the governor, to viſit him in his dungeon, and found his ſituation ſo diſagreeable, and the place of his confinement of a ſmell ſo exceedingly offenſive, that the governor exclaimed at the barbarity of the magiſtrates, and calling the jailers required ſecurities for their good behaviour; and the under-jailer, who had treated George Fox with great cruelty, he impriſoned in the dungeon with him. In the mean time theſe perſecuting magiſtrates, probably afraid of the parliament's further cognizance of their proceedings, and aſhamed at the governor's remonſtrance, ſoon after thought it expedient to releaſe him, as the ſureſt meaſure to bury their unjuſtifiable conduct in oblivion.

Anth. Pearſon in company with the Governor viſits George Fox in priſon.

George Fox releaſed.

This year Miles Halhead, of Underbarrow in Weſtmoreland, one of the firſt zealous preach-

Miles Halhead greatly abuſed.

ers,

join in with the latter opinion, that there were amongſt them men of worth and integrity, diſpoſed to apply the power they were inveſted with to the public good, which I think would have been eſſentially promoted by the execution of ſuch a ſcheme as this.

ers, feeling a concern to travel into Yorkſhire in the work of the miniſtry, in obedience to what he believed his duty, proceeded on his journey, in which, for publiſhing thoſe doctrines which he held as truth, he met with much grievous abuſe. At Skipton and at Doncaſter he was ſo ſorely beaten and bruiſed by the rude multitude that they left him to appearance dead; but being ſupported by an inviſible hand he recovered, even to the aſtoniſhment of thoſe who abuſed him, and to the convincement of many who had heard his doctrine, and obſerved his patience in ſuffering nigh unto death, and the unchriſtian and unprovoked malice of his aſſailants and their abettors. Thomas Briggs in Lancaſter, Robert Widders and William Dewſbury in Cumberland, were alſo ſeverally abuſed in like manner. CHAP. I. 1653.

The ſufferings of this people tend to the encreaſing of their number.

But ſtill through all oppoſition, patient and undiſmayed, through divine aſſiſtance and ſupport, George Fox and his fellow-labourers perſevered in their miniſtry with unremitted zeal and remarkable ſucceſs, the number of their adherents encreaſing in proportion to the cruel efforts exerted by magiſtrates, prieſts and mobs, to prevent their encreaſe. Even theſe meaſures, employed to ſtop their progreſs, proved, in the over-ruling hand of divine providence, the means of advancing it. The innocence and integrity of their lives, the fortitude and chriſtian temper with which they ſuffered perſecution, buffeting and grievous abuſe, pleaded powerfully in their behalf, and procured them the compaſſion and eſteem of many. Others who heard them every where ſpoken againſt, and particularly from the pulpits, which ſhould have been better employed, on a nearer acquaintance with them,

CHAP. I. 1653. them, found them and their principles ſo groſsly miſrepreſented as induced them to forſake ſuch teachers, who under the profeſſion of purity in religion fell ſo far ſhort of moral rectitude, and to aſſociate with this people, whom they found honeſt in heart, upright in conduct, and truly ſincere in their profeſſion of godlineſs.

CHAP. II.

Oliver Cromwell declared Protector.—Which is of no Advantage to the People called Quakers.—Pretext for Perſecution.—Remark upon the Benevolence and mutual Affection of the Quakers, ſo called.—Their Proſperity in Commerce by Means of fair Dealing.

CHAP. II. 1654. THE ſhort parliament, commonly called Barebone's, having reſigned their power back into the hands of Oliver Cromwell, from whom they received it, the council of officers, by the advice of Lambert, adopted a new ſcheme of government, tempering the liberty of a republick with the authority of a ſingle perſon, under the denomination of protector. Cromwell was accordingly declared protector, and a model of a new legiſlature was drawn up, which they termed the inſtrument of government, and which he was ſworn to obſerve in his adminiſtration thereof; in which, as there were [a] ſeveral articles in favour of liberty of conſcience, ſome

Oliver Cromwell declared protector,

[a] Beſſe's Sufferings, Preface.

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ſome relaxation of the vindictive meaſures hitherto purſued againſt the Quakers was natural for this people to expect.

1654.

But notwithſtanding theſe plauſible appearances of liberality of ſentiment in favour of religious liberty, this people reaped no advantage therefrom, but continued to be expoſed to all the hardſhips they had before experienced, not only from ordinances being turned againſt them, but their meetings for worſhip, though ſeemingly allowed, were in fact prohibited, ſince they were puniſhed as ſabbath-breakers, for travelling to them no further than their diſtant dwellings made neceſſary.

which is of no advantage to the people called Quakers.

But the authority of government, and power of executing the laws, being in the hands of thoſe whoſe principles had formerly ſubjected themſelves to the ſeverity of the biſhops; and who had, when under ſuffering, loudly exclaimed againſt the tyranny and iniquity of perſecution, for a conſcientious diſſent from eſtabliſhed forms of worſhip or modes of faith, and had taken up arms to deliver themſelves therefrom, having now gotten the upper-hand, they could not, with any degree of conſiſtency or modeſty, openly reverſe their former profeſſions, and maintain perſecution lawful in them, which they had ſo violently oppoſed in others; they continued to condemn it ſpeculatively, but to keep it up practically in uſe; for this purpoſe they endeavoured to comprehend actions merely religious under a deſcription within the reach of the laws. A chriſtian exhortation to an aſſembly after the prieſt had done, and their worſhip was over, was denominated, *interrupting public worſhip, and diſturbing the prieſt in his office:* An honeſt teſtimony againſt ſin in the ſtreets

Pretexts for perſecution.

CHAP. II. 1654.

ſtreets or markets was ſtyled *a breach of the peace;* and their appearing before the magiſtrates covered *a contempt of authority:* Hence proceeded *fines, impriſonments and ſpoiling of goods.* Nay, ſo hot for perſecution were ſome magiſtrates, that by an unparalleled miſconſtruction of the laws againſt vagrants, they tortured with cruel whippings the bodies of both men and women of good eſtate and reputation, merely becauſe they went under the denomination of *Quakers*

While they were expoſed to hatred, contempt and abuſe from without, brotherly kindneſs and unfeigned charity increaſed, and connected them in cordial affection amongſt themſelves; ſo that the prieſts and profeſſors, who had vainly propheſied their downfal by other means, obſerving their mutual charity and hoſpitality, began now to ſay, *they would eat one another out:* Becauſe many of them after meetings, having a great way to go, took a night's lodging at ſome of their friends houſes, ſometimes in large numbers: Others who walked not by faith as they did, actuated by political conſiderations, expreſſed their fears, that by their expenſes in entertaining one another, they would be reduced to beggary, and fall a charge upon the pariſhes. But many of theſe lived to ſee the vanity of their fears and forebodings; for it pleaſed divine providence remarkably to bleſs them and proſper their undertakings. At the firſt, indeed, people were ſhy of dealing with them, by reaſon of their plain, and, as it was generally eſteemed, uncouth demeanour and addreſs; and by reaſon of the general averſion produced by malignity and miſrepreſentation, ſo that many of this people were reduced to difficulty in procuring a living by their callings for a ſeaſon; but afterwards, when

Remark upon the benevolence and mutual affection of the people called Quakers.

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when they became better known for what they were, and not for what they were falſely reported to be; manifeſting the excellency of that internal religion they profeſſed by the regularity of their moral conduct*, and their conſcientious regard to fidelity in their commerce, void of all fraud, deceit and circumvention; careful in manufacturing or chooſing ſuch goods as might be ſubſtantial, and anſwer the expectations of the purchaſers, moderate in their profits, ſparing in their commendations, and punctual in their payments†, not aſking more for their ware than the preciſe ſum they were determined to accept, taking no advantage of ignorance, the unſkilful cuſtomer being ſure to be treated with as much juſtice as the moſt judicious; their tried integrity begat general confidence, and that confidence brought them a great reſort of cuſtomers, ſo that they proſpered greatly in their outward affairs, and verified the proverb, that *honeſty is the beſt policy*.

Their proſperity in commerce by means of fair dealing.

* It is a remarkable inſtance of the charity and mutual benevolence that prevails amongſt this people, that they have never ſuffered their poor to fall an incumbrance on their pariſhes; but they have ever afforded them a comfortable ſupport amongſt themſelves: and at the ſame time evidence the univerſality of their benevolence, by a readineſs with the foremoſt to contribute to the ſupport of the common poor, both in their quota of the poor tax, and in extending private charity to deſerving objects within their notice.

† Hume, notwithſtanding the contemptible and ridiculous light in which he has endeavoured to place this people, owns this (and this only) to be a laudable maxim. If he had viewed them with diſpaſſionate and diſcerning eyes, I think he might have diſcovered many other maxims of this people deſerving approbation as well as this.

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CHAP. III.

Sundry Friends travel abroad in the Work of the Miniſtry.—Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough, the firſt of this People who viſited the City of London.—Francis Howgill intercedes with Oliver Cromwell to ſtop Perſecution.—Meetings ſettled in London.—Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough travel to Briſtol, and there meet with John Camm and John Audland.—Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough examined by the Council and ordered to depart out of the City.—The Mob inſtigated to abuſe thoſe Friends, which they do in a very groſs Manner.—Sufferings of Elizabeth Heavens and Elizabeth Fletcher at Oxford.—Convincement and Sufferings of Barbara Blaugdon—She is impriſoned at Marlborough, committed to Exeter Jail and cruelly whipped.—At Baſing-Stoke procures the Liberty of Thomas Robertſon and Ambroſe Rigg.

CHAP. III.

1654. Sundry friends travel abroad in the work of the miniſtry.

MEETINGS being ſettled in many parts of the northern counties, and with the number of profeſſors the number of miniſters proportionably encreaſing, ſeveral of theſe conceived it their duty to go forth into other parts of the nation to propagate the goſpel, and to turn people to righteouſneſs. Of theſe Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough travelled to London; John Camm and John Audland to Briſtol; Richard Hubberthorn and George Whitehead to Norwich, and others to other parts. George Fox from experience, impreſſed with a lively ſenſe of the

CHAP. III. 1654.

the importance of the work in which they were engaging, ſolicitous for the advancement of the truth, and that no part of the conduct of thoſe who were concerned to promote it might in the leaſt degree ſully the brightneſs thereof, wrote an epiſtle, admoniſhing them to prudence; to abide under the croſs of Chriſt; to receive wiſdom from God by the light; and not to be haſty to run in their own wills, but to continue in patience. [a] Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough arrived in London in company with Anthony Pearſon, being the firſt of the people called Quakers that had a meeting in London, Francis Howgill and Anthony Pearſon at the houſe of Robert Dring in Watling-ſtreet, and Edward Burrough the ſame day in the aſſembly of a ſeparate ſociety: Their miniſterial labours were bleſſed with ſignal ſucceſs, being attended with a convincing power, impreſſing awful conſiderations, and awakening the conſciences of the audience to a ſenſe of their conditions and earneſt deſires after ſalvation. They were eminently qualified for the ſervice in which they were engaged, not only with ſound underſtanding and a ſufficient ſhare of literature, but the ſuperior qualification of the experience of the quickening power of that inward religion; which they endeavoured to recommend and propagate; a religion not amuſing the head in curious ſpeculations, but purifying the heart and cleanſing the conſcience from dead works to ſerve the Lord in newneſs of life; prepared for the work of the miniſtry by the previous work of inward ſanctification, and believing themſelves to that arduous undertaking called of God as was Aaron.

Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough the firſt of this people who viſited the city of London.

Having

[a] Sewel, p. 81.

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Francis Howgill intercedes with Oliver Cromwell to ſtop perſecution.

[b] Having a feeling ſympathy with his brethren under perſecution, with whom he had been a fellow-ſufferer, Francis Howgill went to court to intercede with Oliver Cromwell to put a ſtop thereto; but his viſit ſeems to have had a more beneficial effect upon Oliver's ſervants than upon himſelf; for ſome of theſe, and particularly Theophilus Green and Mary Sanders were ſo far affected by his diſcourſe, that after ſome time they joined themſelves to the people called Quakers.

[c] Francis Howgill afterwards wrote to Oliver very boldly and plainly on the ſame ſubject; but the ſequel doth not manifeſt any good effects reſulting therefrom; his friends continued ſtill ſubject to a variety of hardſhips for their conſcientious adherence to their religious principles, during the remainder of his protectorate, and through the ſucceeding revolutions.

Meetings ſettled in London.

Through the zealous and effectual preaching of Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill, many of the citizens of London were brought over to their profeſſion, ſo that [d] meetings were ſettled in ſundry places in that city, firſt in the houſe of Sarah Sawyer in Alderſgate-ſtreet, then in that of ——— Bates in Tower-ſtreet, and another at Gerard Roberts's in Thomas Apoſtles, 'till the body growing too large for private houſes to accommodate, a houſe known by the name of *Bull and Mouth in Martins-le-grand*, near Alderſgate, was hired for a meeting-houſe.

[e] Now the preſs as well as the pulpits was ſet to work for the purpoſe of defamation: Abundance of books and publications by the prieſts and

[b] Sewel, p. 83. [c] Ibid, p. 82. [d] Ibid, p. 84. [e] Ibid.

and teachers of ſeveral ſects were ſpread abroad, repreſenting the Quakers as ſeducers and falſe prophets. For being chagrined at the loſs of their hearers, many of whom had gone over to this riſing ſociety, they were rouſed to employ every engine to ſtop its progreſs: But the event did not anſwer their hope, for Burrough and Howgill did not ſuffer theſe writings to paſs unnoticed; but clearly manifeſted the malice and the abſurdities of the writers. CHAP. III. 1654

It doth not appear that they met with any moleſtation in their perſons in the metropolis; but after they had gathered and ſettled meetings there, they travelled thence to Briſtol, where [f] John Camm and John Audland had arrived before, and where their miniſtry had been effectual to gather a number to their community, and particularly Joſiah Coale, George Biſhop, Charles Marſhal and Barbara Blaugden. Their preaching was like that of the apoſtles, in the demonſtration of the ſpirit, and with power; multitudes flocked to hear them, and many embraced their doctrine. Their public aſſemblies, for want of room in their uſual meeting-houſes, were held in the fields, even in winter, increaſing in number to two, three, and ſometimes near four thouſand of all degrees, profeſſions, ages and ſexes. This alarmed the prieſts, and they the magiſtrates, who on the 30th October held a council, the mayor preſiding, and ſent for Burrough and Howgill. The iſſue of their examination, at which none of their friends were ſuffered to be preſent, though their oppoſers were readily admitted, was an order for their departing the city forthwith at their peril.

Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough travel to Briſtol, and there meet with John Camm and John Audland, by whoſe miniſtry ſeveral are convinced.

F. Howgill and E. Burrough examined before the council,

[f] Sewel, p. 84, 85.

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1654. by whom they are ordered to depart the city.

To this they anſwered: *We came not in the will of man, nor ſtand in the will of man, but when he ſhall move us to depart who moved us to come hither we ſhall obey: We are free-born Engliſhmen, and have ſerved the commonwealth faithfully, being free in the ſight of God from the tranſgreſſion of any law: To your commands we cannot be obedient; but if by violence you put us out of the city, and have power to do it, we cannot reſiſt.* Having ſaid this, they went out of the court, but tarried in the city preaching as before; for though the magiſtrates bare them no good will, yet they could not either by law or juſtice execute the order they had made. The oppoſers of the truth, enraged at this diſappointment, excited the mob to do what the magiſtrates could not. On the 19th of December John Camm and John Audland, paſſing over the bridge toward Briſlington, where they had appointed a meeting, were aſſaulted by ſome hundreds of the rabble, whoſe ignorant zeal had been blown up to the higheſt pitch of fury by one Farmer, a perſecuting prieſt, and ſome others. They violently drove back the innocent ſtrangers, ſome crying out, *hang them preſently*, others, *knock them down*; and would have dragged them out of the city, in order to execute their wicked purpoſe, but were diſſuaded by ſome who adviſed firſt to carry them before the mayor. Then they dragged them to the Tolzey, where the courts of juſtice are held. There again the enraged mob would probably have torn them to pieces, had not a friend with much danger and difficulty got them into his houſe and ſhut the doors. The rabble with hideous noiſe threatened to pull down the houſe, while the innocent men remained *as lambs dumb before their ſhearers*, in quietneſs and patience, yet undaunted, putting their

The mob inſtigated to abuſe the friends,

which they do in a very groſs manner.

their truſt in God. After ſome time the officers of the garriſon approaching, the mob, fearing military execution, diſperſed. Next morning the two ſtrangers paſſed over the bridge to their meeting at Briſlington. Three of the rioters were apprehended, on the report of which they gathered again to the number of fifteen hundred, and forced the diſcharge of their companions. Towards evening it was rumoured that the Quakers were returning, whereupon multitudes drew together on the bridge, and on the other ſide of the river Avon, uttering terrible menaces, ſo that the magiſtrates, fearing bloodſhed, ſent their ſword-bearer to prevent the men from returning that way, for that *they could not undertake to ſecure them*. Thus Providence preſerved the innocent from the enraged rabble, whoſe fury ſpread a terror over the whole city. Theſe diſorders were too much countenanced by men in office. [g] It was credibly reported that George Helliar, an Alderman, ſaid at the Tolzey, to ſome of the rioters, *that he would ſpend his blood, and loſe his life, rather than that any of his fellow apprentices ſhould go to priſon*: Such familiarity encreaſed their inſolence. [h] Nevertheleſs the magiſtrates ſoon after, in repreſenting theſe tumults to the Protector, charged the innocent men, againſt whom they were raiſed as, the authors of them.

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Amidſt ſo many inſtances of arbitrary rule and lawleſs riot, I am pleaſed to meet with one of a more humane and Chriſtian diſpoſition in the mayor of Oxford of this year. Elizabeth Heavens and Elizabeth Fletcher, two North-country women, came under a religious concern to the ſaid city, to exhort the inhabitants and ſtudents

Sufferings of Elizabeth Heavens and Elizabeth Fletcher.

[g] Sewel, p. 85. [h] Ibid, p. 86.

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1654.

to repentance and amendment of life. Their labours of love met with inhuman returns from the ſcholars, who drove theſe innocent women by force to the pump in John's College, where they pumped water on their necks and into their mouths till they were almoſt ſuffocated; after which they tied them arm to arm, and with great barbarity dragged them up and down the college and through a pool of water: They threw Elizabeth Fletcher, a young woman, over a grave, whereby ſhe received a contuſion on her ſide, from which ſhe never recovered, but ſoon after died. A few days after this rude and unchriſtian treatment, the ſame women went to one of their places of public worſhip, and after the prieſt had done, one of them began to exhort the people to the practice of godlineſs: Two juſtices of peace, who were preſent, ordered them immediately to be ſent to Bocardo, a priſon uſually appropriated to the reception of felons and murderers. Next day thoſe juſtices ſent a meſſage to the mayor, to meet them and others to examine theſe Quakers, who expreſſed his diſapprobation of their proceedings, *Let them*, ſaid he, *who committed them, deal with them according to law, for my part I have nothing againſt them: If they wanted food, money or clothes, I would willingly ſupply them.* However, when the juſtices met he met with them, and the * Vice-chancellor of the univerſity being ſent for, readily came, and was the principal in examining them. After a ſhort examination, the women were ordered to withdraw while the magiſtrates conſulted together, and although nothing appeared to criminate them, theſe magiſtrates drew up

The mayor refuſes his conſent to the proceedings of the other magiſtrates.

* Dr. Owen.

1654.

up their ſentence againſt them in writing, That they ſhould be whipped out of the city. Now, according to the legal conſtitution of the city, it was requiſite for the mayor to ſign a ſentence of corporal puniſhment, and affix his ſeal of office to make it valid, which in this caſe he refuſed to do, becauſe he could not in conſcience conſent to a ſentence, which he thought unmerited and unjuſt. But as a ſcrupulous adherence to legal forms was too often made to give way to the gratification of a vindictive temper in magiſtrates, actuated more by cauſeleſs hatred to this people, than regard to juſtice or humanity, the Vice-chancellor and his coadjutors reſolved, ſince the mayor would not legalize the ſentence by the ſanction of his ſignature, they would have it executed without him, and accordingly gave orders that the poor women ſhould be ſeverely whipped the next morning, and had their order effectually executed; though the conviction of their innocence affected the heart even of the executioner to that degree, that he performed his office with manifeſt reluctance. The women bearing their grievous ſufferings with Chriſtian patience, without murmuring or complaining in the leaſt, their meek and patient behaviour impreſſed many of the ſober inhabitants with compaſſionate ſympathy towards them, and induced them to acknowledge them as the ſervants of God, ſupported by his divine power to bear their teſtimony with innocence, and their ſufferings with the patience of ſaints. With ſenſations of tender regard to them, and of diſguſt and averſion to the ſeverity of their perſecutors, they in much love and tenderneſs accompanied them out of the city.

In

CHAP. III.

1654. Convincement and ſufferings of Barbara Blaugdon.

In this year Barbara Blaugdon of Briſtol met with uſage equally ſevere. She was a woman of good parts and education, religiouſly inclined from her youth, of good repute, and eſteemed in her profeſſion or employment, which was the inſtruction of children. But being amongſt the number of thoſe who had been converted to Quakeriſm (ſo called) by the efficacious miniſtry of John Camm and John Audland; and believing it her duty to take up the croſs, ſhe conſcientiouſly adopted not only the ſimplicity of manners peculiar to this ſociety in dreſs and addreſs (whereby ſhe loſt her employment) but was ſo abſtemious as to deny herſelf the uſe of fleſh, wine or beer, drinking only water for the ſpace of a year. In the mean time ſhe grew in piety and religious experience, This woman was repeatedly concerned to intercede on behalf of her perſecuted friends, and not without ſucceſs, and was remarkably expoſed to a variety of afflictions and perſecutions herſelf. At Marlborough, for exhorting the people to fear God, in the ſteeple-houſe and other places, ſhe was impriſoned for the ſpace of ſix weeks; and after her releaſe, viſiting Iſaac Burgeſs, the magiſtrate who committed her, by her diſcourſe his underſtanding was ſo opened, that he aſſented to the truth; and although he had not reſolution to take up the croſs, ſo far as to make public profeſſion thereof, yet he was ever afterwards a man of moderation, averſe to perſecution, and a friendly protector of the members of this community. Soon after paſſing into Devonſhire, at Great-Torrington, for expreſſing a few words of exhortation to the people in the ſteeple-houſe, ſhe was ſummoned before the mayor, who upon her appearing before him conducted himſelf with moderation,

She is impriſoned at Marlborough.

moderation, and ſeemed reluctant to ſend her to priſon. But the prieſt being preſent, diſcovered a very different temper, and was very urgent with him to do it, expreſſing the bitterneſs of his ſpirit, in ſaying, *She ought to be whipped for a vagabond.* Upon which ſhe deſired him *to prove wherever ſhe aſked any one for a bit of bread.* At length the prieſt's urgency prevailed over the magiſtrate's moderation, by whom ſhe was ſent to Exeter priſon twenty miles diſtant, where ſhe was detained till the aſſizes, but brought to no trial; and after the aſſizes ſhe was lodged one night among a great number of gipſies who were there in priſon. Next day the ſheriff coming with the beadle, brought her into a room, where ſhe was very cruelly whipped till the blood ran down her back; and ſuch was her magnanimity, ſupported by an inviſible power, that ſhe never ſtarted at a blow, but ſang aloud, rejoicing that ſhe was counted worthy to ſuffer in a noble cauſe, the teſtimony of a good conſcience. The unfeeling beadle, provoked at her conſtancy, laid on his ſtripes with redoubled fury, till the ſheriff ſeeing that the utmoſt exertion of their malice made no impreſſion upon her (for ſhe was ſtrengthened by an extraordinary and more than human power, ſo that ſhe declared afterwards that in the ſtate in which ſhe was at that time, if ſhe had been whipped to death ſhe ſhould not be terrified or diſmayed) ordered the fellow to deſiſt. The next day ſhe was turned out of the city along with the gipſies, the beadle following them two miles out of town. Upon his leaving them, ſhe returned to viſit her friends ſhe had left behind in priſon, which having done ſhe went home to Briſtol.

Committed to Exeter jail,

and cruelly whipped.

She

CHAP. III.

1654. At Baſingſtoke procures liberty for Thomas Robertſon and Ambroſe Rigge.

She had not been long at home before ſhe felt an impulſe on her mind to go abroad on the following occaſion: Two of her friends*, Thomas Robertſon and Ambroſe Rigge, being at a meeting at Baſingſtoke in Hampſhire (the firſt their friends had there) were taken up and committed to priſon, where they had lain for ſome time; and Barbara apprehending it her Chriſtian duty to viſit them in priſon, and uſe her endeavours to obtain their releaſe, went to Baſingſtoke; and upon her arrival there, going to the priſon, was refuſed admittance. She then went to the mayor, and requeſted their liberty; which he promiſed her to grant, provided he might ſee the letter ſhe had brought them, (viz. a letter from J. Camm) which ſhe readily producing, after he had read it, he told her ſhe ſhould have her friends out, but that he could not let them out preſently: Yet it was not long till they were ſet at liberty.

* Theſe men coming to Baſingſtoke were informed that the prieſt of that pariſh had uttered ſeveral invective ſpeeches againſt them: They, in order to clear themſelves, deſired an interview with him, which he refuſed; but ſaid *they might expect to be ſhortly in priſon:* And holding a meeting in a friend's yard, to which many of the town reſorted, during the meeting this prieſt with a juſtice of peace came thither in a rude and angry manner; and in order to get occaſion againſt them the juſtice tendered them the oath of abjuration, which refuſing, from a conſcientious ſcruple againſt ſwearing, they were committed to priſon, kept and examined apart; their money, bibles, ink-horns, knives and papers taken from them, (but the money returned) and none of their friends ſuffered to come near them.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

George Fox in Lincolnſhire convinceth the Sheriff.—Alſo Sir Richard Wrey and others.—A general Meeting at Swanington.—At Drayton diſputes with Prieſt Stephens and other Prieſts.—Is taken up at Whetſtone and brought before Col. Hacker.—Who ſends him to the Protector at London.—By whom he is diſcharged.—Has great Meetings in London.—A Meeting at John Crook's, who is convinced.

CHAP. IV.

1654.

GEORGE FOX, after his releaſe from Carliſle jail, travelled through ſundry parts of the north of England, and through Yorkſhire into Lincolnſhire: and the Sheriff of Lincoln coming to a meeting which he was at made great contention for a time, but at length was ſo reached by the power attending George's teſtimony that he was convinced, as were ſeveral others alſo who came to oppoſe.

George Fox in Lincolnſhire convinceth the ſheriff.

During his ſtay in this country the church of his friends encreaſed, and many received his doctrine; amongſt others Sir Richard Wrey, his brother, and his brother's wife, who both retained their integrity. But Sir Richard finding the way too narrow left their community after ſome time: for perſecution gathering ſtrength became as a touchſtone to try the ſincerity of the profeſſors, being a trial of faith too ſevere for the hypocritical or ſuperficial profeſſors to endure.

Alſo Sir Richard Wrey and others.

Travelling through Derbyſhire into Leiceſterſhire he came to Swanington, to a general meeting, where he met John Audland, Francis Howgill

A general meeting at Swanington.

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gill and Edward Pyot, from Briſtol, and Edward Burrough, from London; and ſeveral were convinced in thoſe parts. To this meeting came many Ranters, Baptiſts, and other profeſſors; and the Ranters were very rude; but that power which attended George and his friends brought them down and confounded them, ſo that many of them became convinced.

George Fox at Drayton has a diſpute with prieſt Stephens and others.

From hence he went to Twycroſs, and thence to Drayton, the place of his nativity, to viſit his relations. While he was here Nathaniel Stephens, prieſt of Drayton, having firſt got another prieſt to diſpute, and after that ſeven others to join him, had given public notice, unknown to George, that on ſuch a day there would be a meeting and diſpute with him. Upon this occaſion ſeveral hundreds of people were gathered to witneſs the triumph of the prieſts. This formidable combination was formed with a view to get an advantage by their numbers over George and his friends, in order to bring them and their principles into diſgrace with the people; but the event did not anſwer their hopes; for in the courſe of their conference George drawing a ſtriking parallel between their practices and thoſe of the falſe prophets and phariſees, who were the ſubjects of rebuke in both the Old and New Teſtament, the prieſts in diſappointment quitted the field, and many of the people were convinced that day: and George's father, who was ſtill in communion with Stephens, as one of his pariſhioners, was ſo well ſatisfied, that, ſtriking his cane upon the ground, he ſaid, *Truly I ſee he that will ſtand to the truth, it will carry him through.*

The prieſts failing of their purpoſe to vanquiſh George Fox by their diſputing and argumentation,

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tion, had recourſe to the ſecular power to gratify their envious deſigns againſt him, and to bring him into trouble, or to put a ſtop to his travelling abroad. He went from Drayton to Leiceſter, and from thence to Whetſtone, where a meeting was to be held; but before it began, about ſeventeen troopers of Colonel Hacker's regiment took him up, and brought him before the Colonel and his company of officers, by the procurement of the prieſts as he thought. And after much diſcourſe and reaſoning with them, the Colonel gave him liberty *to go home*, provided *he would ſtay there and not go abroad to meetings*. But George being unwilling to agree to the conditions, his ſon Nedham ſaid, "Father, this man "hath reigned too long, it is time to have him "cut off." So malicious a ſpeech drew from George this pertinent query. "For what? "what have I done? or whom have I wronged "from a child? In this country I had my birth "and education, and who can accuſe me of "any evil from my infancy to this day?"— Then the Colonel aſked him, if he would go home and ſtay at home? George looking upon this requiſition as unreaſonable, having adminiſtered no cauſe for ſuch reſtriction of his liberty, replied, *If he ſhould agree thereto it would imply that he was guilty of ſomething, for which his home was made his priſon: And if he went to meeting, they would conſider that as a breach of their order; therefore he plainly told them he ſhould go to meeting, and could not anſwer their requirings.* "Well then," ſaid Hacker, "I will ſend you "to-morrow morning by ſix o'clock to my "Lord Protector, by Captain Drury, one of his "life-

Goes from Drayton to Leiceſter, and to Whetſtone, where he is taken and brought before Colonel Hacker,

[a] Sewel, p. 97.

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1654. who ſends him to the Protector at London.

"life guard." That night he was kept in the marſhalſea, and next morning about the hour appointed delivered to Captain Drury. But before they ſet off, requeſting to ſpeak with Colonel Hacker, he was taken to his bed-ſide, when the Colonel repeated his order to him to go home and ſtay there: And George being ſtill unwilling to comply, the Colonel inſiſted on his going to the protector. Whereupon George kneeled down at his bed-ſide, and prayed the Lord *to forgive him:* looking upon him to be like Pilate, willing to waſh his hands while he complied with the inſtigations of the perſecuting prieſts; and therefore deſired him, *When the day of his miſery and trial came upon him, then to remember what he had ſaid to him.*

So parting from him, he was carried priſoner by Captain Drury to London, where being lodged at the Mermaid, Charing-Croſs, Drury went to inform the Protector, who ſent him back with this meſſage, *That the Protector required of George Fox, that he ſhould promiſe not to take up the ſword, or any other weapon, againſt him or the government, as it then was; that he ſhould write it in what words he ſaw proper, and ſet his hand to it.* George, on conſideration thereof, wrote to the Protector the next morning by the name of Oliver Cromwell, declaring in the preſence of the Lord, "That he did deny "the wearing or drawing of a ſword, or any "outward weapon, againſt him or any man. "That he was ſent of God to ſtand a witneſs "againſt all violence, and againſt the works of "darkneſs; and to bring people from the oc-"caſion of wars and fightings to the peaceable "goſpel;

[b] Sewel, p. 98.

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"goſpel; and from being evil doers, to whom "the magiſtrates ſword ſhould be a terror;" to which he ſubſcribed his name, and gave it to Captain Drury to deliver to Cromwell. Some time after Drury returned, and brought George Fox before the Protector at Whitehall. Upon his coming in he ſaid, *Peace be in this houſe*, and exhorted the Protector *to keep in the fear of God, that he might receive wiſdom from him; that by it he might be ordered, and with it might order all things under his hand to God's glory.* They had much diſcourſe about religion, in which the Protector carried himſelf with much moderation: But remarking that *George Fox and his friends quarrelled with the miniſters*, George told him he did not quarrel with them, but they quarrelled with him; but, added he, if we own the prophets, Chriſt and the apoſtles, we cannot uphold ſuch teachers as they teſtified againſt, that is, ſuch as violate Chriſt's command, in not giving freely; ſuch as take the overſight of the flock for filthy lucre, and divine for money. When George made a motion to retire, upon other people coming in, Cromwell took him by the hand, and with tears in his eyes ſaid, *Come again to my houſe, for if thou and I were but an hour of a day together we ſhould be nearer one to another*, adding, *that he wiſhed him no more ill than he did his own ſoul.* Then George bade him *hearken to the voice of God, ſtand in his counſel and obey it, if he did ſo it would preſerve him from hardneſs of heart; but if not his heart would be hardened.* The Protector ſeemed affected, and ſaid, *It was true.* George then taking his leave retired, and Captain Drury following him out, informed him that *the Lord Protector ſaid he was at liberty, and might go whither he would.*

With whom he hath a conference.

He is diſcharged.

Being

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1654. Has great meetings in London.

Being reſtored to liberty he ſtaid during the remaining part of the year in London, where he had meetings ſo greatly crouded that he could hardly get to or from them, becauſe of the croud. The number of his friends greatly encreaſed, and he could reckon ſome belonging to Cromwell's court in the number of thoſe convinced.

A meeting at John Crook's, who is convinced.

When he was clear of London he went into Bedfordſhire, where he had a great meeting at the houſe of John Crook, a juſtice of peace, and many were convinced of the truth he declared, of which number John Crook himſelf was one, on which account he was ſoon deprived of his commiſſion; but after ſome time he became an able miniſter, and a very ſerviceable member of this religious community.

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CHAP. V.

Account of William Caton, Companion to Judge Fell's Son.—Convinced by George Fox.—He receives a Gift in the Miniſtry.—Account of John Stubbs, a Soldier.—Being convinced he refuſes the Oath of Fidelity to Oliver Cromwell, for which he is diſbanded.—Meets William Caton at London, and travels with him into Kent.—Being prohibited Entertainment at Dover, Luke Howard entertains them.—Samuel Fiſher convinced.—Account of him.—At Maidſtone John Stubbs and William Caton ſent to the Houſe of Correction, ſet in the Stocks, and ſeverely whipped.—Turned out of the Town different Ways.—Return to Maidſtone, and diſcharge their ſervice without Moleſtation.—William Caton goes over to Calais.—William Caton and John Stubbs go to Scotland.

THIS people ſtill encreaſing in number, and the number of their miniſters encreaſing alſo, few counties in England remained unviſited by one or other of them. About this time William Caton and John Stubbs went into Kent, where they were made partakers with their brethren in bearing their teſtimony to the ſufficiency of the divine light with ſucceſs, and charitable endeavours to turn the people thereto, and in ſuffering in their perſons for their teſtimony: But before I proceed to the particular deſcription of their labours and ſufferings, it ſeems proper, as they have not been noticed before, to make the reader a little acquainted with them.

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William

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1654. Account of William Caton, companion to judge Fell's ſon.

William Caton, about the fourteenth year of his age, by his father's procurement, was introduced into the family of Judge Fell, where his agreeable diſpoſition ſo ingratiated him with that family, that he was made companion to the Judge's ſon in his amuſements and in his ſtudies; they learned Latin together for ſome time under a private tutor, and were afterwards removed to a public ſchool at Hawkſhead for their further improvement in the languages, in which he made a good proficiency; for which advantages he had reaſon to be humbly thankful to divine providence for allotting him ſo favourable a ſituation; but theſe were not the only advantages he reaped thereby.

Judge Fell, his wife and daughters, being in general perſons of good ſenſe, liberal education, virtuous demeanour, and religious inclinations, his converſation in ſuch improving company, gave him an early turn to piety and virtue; he was very punctual in his private devotions, and diligent, after hearing a lecture, to tranſcribe the chief heads thereof, in order to improve the favourable ſentiments the family entertained of him, it being a point with them at that time to hold in higheſt eſtimation thoſe who could repeat the ſermons they had heard, and paraphraſe thereupon: But whatever praiſe he might attain thereby from others, he did not feel that inward approbation therein which could ſatisfy his own ſoul.

Convinced by George Fox.

In the year 1652 (as before recited) George Fox came to Swarthmore and preached in the family, recommending them to give heed to the light which Chriſt hath enlightened us withal, to

[a] Sewel, p. 100. [b] Ibid, p. 101.

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to convince us of ſin and evil: This ſo affected William Caton that he became ſubject to this internal convincement, whereby he felt much reſtriction in his conduct, and could no longer take the liberties he had done before; for although he had not been addicted to vice or profanity, yet by the light he ſaw that he muſt be alſo weaned from vanity and the common diverſions of youth, which tend to bring the mind into a ſtate of diſſipation, inconſiderateneſs and unwatchfulneſs, whereby it is in danger to fall into the enemy's ſnares, and to be ſeduced from the paths of virtue and righteouſneſs. The divine witneſs was awakened in his conſcience, and reproved him for every thing that was contrary to Chriſtian gravity, convincing him that it was a ſerious matter indeed, *to uſe all diligence to make our calling and election ſure.* The change of company he met with at the ſchool at Hawkſhead, on compariſon with that he had left at Swarthmore, did not ſit eaſy on his mind before, but under theſe ſolid impreſſions both his companions and exerciſes there became quite burdenſome. The making of latin verſes cauſed him particular uneaſineſs, as he could not now give that ſcope to his invention which others did, and as he had uſed to do. Margaret Fell, perceiving his uneaſineſs in his preſent ſituation, cauſed him to ſtay at home where ſhe employed him in writing and teaching her children. Being arrived at his eighteenth year, he was encreaſed in experience and ſtrengthened in the ſpiritual warfare: And in a while eſteeming it his duty to labour in the miniſtry of the goſpel, he deſired to be diſcharged from his engagements in that family, which was granted in conſideration of the ſervice for which it was aſked; and ſo

He receives a gift in the miniſtry, and leaves judge Fell's houſe.

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about the end of the year 1654 he took his leave, not without tears on both ſides.

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Account of John Stubbs,

John Stubbs was a ſoldier in Oliver Cromwell's army, and being in garriſon at Carliſle when George Fox was in priſon there, he was convinced by him, and became a convert to the doctrine he delivered; and proving faithful to conviction he grew in experience; he was now become a miniſter amongſt this people, and proved a man of eminence and ability for ſervice. Having received a liberal education, he was well ſkilled in the Latin, Greek and Oriental languages. When Oliver Cromwell took the reins of government into his own hands, he required the ſoldiers and others to take an oath of fidelity to him and his government; but ſeveral of them being convinced of the truth of the doctrine of the Quakers, (ſo called) when the oath was tendered to them, declared, that in obedience to Chriſt's command, they durſt not ſwear, whereupon they were diſbanded; amongſt theſe refuſers was [c] John Stubbs, who the latter end of this year, or the beginning of the ſucceeding one, travelled to London, where he met with William Caton, and in company with him travelled into Kent, and coming to Dover, altogether ſtrangers, they took up their lodgings at an inn. They ſought opportunities of publiſhing their doctrines in the ſundry congregations of profeſſors in that town; but the moſt remarkable opportunity was at a meeting of baptiſts, to which abundance of people reſorted, and many were affected with their doctrine, and adhered to it, which occaſioned ſuch a ſtir, that they were haled before the magiſtrates, who examined

refuſes the oath of fidelity to Oliver Cromwell,

for which he is diſbanded.

Meets with W. Caton at London, and travels with him into Kent.

[c] Sewel, p. 80.

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examined them, though they had tranſgreſſed no law, and prohibited the inhabitants from entertaining them under a penalty, whereupon they were turned out of their lodgings, but Luke Howard received them into his houſe, and heard them gladly. The mayor ſent four conſtables, with an order, to take them from thence, and turn them out of the town; but Luke aſſerting his right, as a freeman of the corporation, refuſed to comply with the order, inſiſting, that the mayor had no legal authority to violate the laws of hoſpitality in his houſe, by forcing out his gueſts, who were no malefactors, nor accuſed of any crime. They tarried with him ſome days, and ſo confirmed him in the belief of their principles, that he publickly declared himſelf to be of their perſuaſion, and had meetings afterwards frequently at his houſe.

Being prohibited entertainment by the magiſtrates of Dover, Luke Howard entertains them.

Soon after they came to Lidd, where by their miniſtry, in conjunction with that of Thomas Robertſon and Ambroſe Rigge, Samuel Fiſher being convinced joined their ſociety; he was a man of good abilities, having received a liberal education in his minority, and afterwards proſecuted his ſtudies at the univerſity—while there he was a young man remarkable for his circumſpect and pious converſation. When he had finiſhed his ſtudies there he was ordained a prieſt, and was firſt a chaplain to ſome man of quality, and afterwards preſented to the living at Lidd, worth two hundred pounds a year. Before he became acquainted with any of the people called Quakers, being conſcientiouſly engaged in ſeeking after truth, he diſcovered that infant baptiſm was an human inſtitution, and to preach for a ſtipend contrary to the command of Chriſt: And Luke Howard, before-

Samuel Fiſher convinced.

Account of him.

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mentioned, alſo, before he had any acquaintance with any of thoſe called Quakers, being diſſatisfied in his mind with the ſinging of David's pſalms in the public worſhip, gave his maſter, to whom he was apprentice, ſo much uneaſineſs, that he applied to Samuel Fiſher, as a learned miniſter, to take an opportunity of a religious conference with him, in order to remove his ſcruples, with whoſe requeſt complying, Luke was very open in declaring the reaſons of his ſcruple, to the following purport: That God was a ſpirit, and to be worſhipped, not in other men's words, but in ſpirit and in truth. That it was a falſehood for a proud man to ſing, that "he was not puffed up in his mind; he had "no ſcornful eye, and he did not exerciſe "himſelf in things that were too high." That it was abſurd for any man to ſing, "Rivers of "tears run down mine eyes, becauſe other men "keep not thy laws," whilſt he never knew a true ſorrow and repentance for "his own ſins." The reſult of this conference was, that inſtead of removing Howard's ſcruples, theſe reaſons of his had ſuch a convincing effect on Samuel Fiſher's mind, that he found himſelf reſtrained from giving out David's conditions to the people to ſing any more. And at length his continuing to preach for wages, contrary to the inward conviction of his conſcience, becoming a burden too grievous for him to bear, he gave a rare inſtance of the honeſty of his heart, and the value he put upon the teſtimony of a good conſcience, by reſigning his living, and diveſting himſelf of the ſacerdotal character, placing his confidence in Divine Providence for the future ſupport of himſelf and his family. He rented a farm, and commenced grazier, by which he procured

cured a decent competency, enhanced by the consolation of solid content, and the internal testimony of an approving heart. CHAP. V. 1654.

Having discovered too great a mixture of human invention and tradition retained in the episcopal church, he withdrew from its communion, and joined the baptists, amongst whom he became an eminent teacher.

It was about this time that William Caton and John Stubbs came to Lydd, whom Samuel Fisher received into his house, remembering that scripture exhortation, *Be not forgetful to entertain strangers*. John Stubbs going to the baptists meeting where Fisher preached, and having gotten an opportunity to preach the gospel, according to the principles of his friends, he delivered his doctrine with a clearness and authority, whereby Samuel Fisher was so affected, that he soon after openly professed himself of this despised society, particularly on the following occasion: Hammond, his colleague in office, in a sermon uttering many bitter invectives against the Quakers, Samuel Fisher, incited by a more Christian temper, and a dispassionate regard to truth, thought his duty called upon him, in justice to his misinformed flock, and the injured Quakers, to bear his testimony in opposition to the calumnies of his colleague, but with the moderation and charity of a Christian, expressing himself in these terms, "Dear brother, you are "very dear and near to me, but the truth is "dearer and nearer: It is the everlasting truth "and gospel which they hold forth." Which candid expressions drew one from Hammond, stamped with the mark of a very different spirit: "Our brother Fisher is also bewitched." But Samuel's faith was not of that cast, which re-

returned

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turned reviling for reviling; but in the ſincerity of his heart having borne teſtimony to the truth, as held by the people called Quakers, he corroborated it by joining with them in religious fellowſhip, and proved a very ſerviceable member, both by his goſpel labours and his judicious writings.

Wm. Caton and John Stubbs offered money for preaching, which they refuſe.

William Caton and John Stubbs continued their journey through Kent, where they met with many people religiouſly inclined, who readily embraced their doctrine; and ſome of them being deſirous to make them a pecuniary acknowledgment for their goſpel labours, and being urgent with them to accept thereof, they acknowledging their good-will, but refuſing their money, let them know it was not theirs but them which they ſought.

Travelling on to Maidſtone, John Stubbs went to the public place of worſhip then poſſeſſed by the Preſbyterians, and William Caton to the meeting of the Independents. John Stubbs was taken from the worſhip-houſe and put into the ſtocks, and afterwards examined by the Recorder, to whom he rendered a good account of himſelf and of his eſtate, being ſufficient to ſupport himſelf and his family. Caton was next day taken from the inn, and alſo examined by the Recorder; and they were both ſent to the houſe of correction where they were ſearched, and their money, ink-horns and bibles, &c. taken from them. Afterwards they were ſtripped and their necks and arms put in the ſtocks, and were ſo cruelly whipped with cords as to draw tears from the ſpectators. After all this, endeavours were uſed to compel them to work, but in vain; for as they were guilty of the breach of no law, they juſtly refuſed to comply

At Maidſtone they are ſent to the houſe of correction, ſet in the ſtocks, and ſeverely whipped.

1654.

ply with the unreaſonable demand; as their ſubmitting thereto, being an agency in their own puniſhment, might imply guilt, from which they were free. Their perſecutors, therefore, under the pretence that "he that would not work "ſhould not eat," kept them ſome days without victuals, allowing them only a little water once a day. Some of the malefactors impriſoned there, more compaſſionate than theſe ill-principled religioniſts, would have ſhared their bread with them, but they were not free to accept of it. But the report of their cruel treatment being ſpread in the town, and producing compaſſion in many of the inhabitants, and diſcontent and averſion to this arbitrary ſeverity, an officer was ſent to reſtore them ſome of their property, which had been taken from them, and then they purchaſed victuals with their own money. Not long after they were ſeparated, and ſent away with a paſs by the officers, like vagabonds, being taken out at different ends of the town, and ſent off by different ways. Afterwards they met again at London, and had not been long there, till they apprehended it a duty required of them to return to Maidſtone, to fulfil their miniſtry in that place and places adjacent. This, after their late ſevere ſufferings there, was a very great trial to them; but believing it to be a divine requiring, they gave up in reſignation to the divine will, and through the providential ordering of that hand in which they truſted, or the ſenſe the magiſtrates retained of the diſreputation brought upon them by their former cruelty, they were ſuffered to diſcharge their duty and paſs away unmoleſted. From thence they went to Canterbury, and at the meeting of the Baptiſts and Independents had liberty to publiſh their

Turned out of the town different ways.

They meet in London, and return to Maidſtone, where they diſcharge their ſervice without moleſtation.

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their doctrine among them, whereby ſome being convinced of the truth thereof received their teſtimony.

1654. Wm. Caton and John Stubbs go to Scotland.

In the latter end of this year and the beginning of the next they took their journey together to Scotland, and at Berwick [h] William Caton went to the public worſhip-houſe, and after the prieſt had concluded, had pretty good liberty to deliver what was on his mind; but when he had done, was laid hold of and taken before the magiſtrates, who ordered him to be turned out of the town, which order was immediately executed. John Stubbs was that day at the Baptiſt's meeting, and had ſome ſervice there. They travelled on to Edinburgh, where they found ſome diſorders crept into the church through the unfaithfulneſs of ſome who had been convinced; but, through the effectual influence of their miniſtry, better order was reſtored amongſt them. From hence John Stubbs returned to England. William Caton ſtayed ſome time longer in Scotland, exerciſing his miniſterial labours in ſundry places to good purpoſe; whereby, having diſcharged his ſervice in this nation to the eaſe and clearneſs of his own mind, he returned to Swarthmore where he was received with much affection.

[h] Sewel, p. 105.

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CHAP. VI.

Richard Hubberthorn, George Whitehead and James Lancaſter impriſoned.—The two latter diſcharged.—George Whitehead violently aſſaulted by the Populace, and reſcued by a Trooper.—Richard Clayton for fixing a Paper on the Steeple-houſe Door at Bures in Suffolk, is whipped and ſent away with a Paſs.—George Whitehead, John Harwood and George Roſe committed to Bury Gaol.—Indicted at the Aſſizes and fined.—Hardly uſed in Priſon.—Releaſed by order of Oliver Cromwell.—Account of James Parnell.—He travels through Huntingdonſhire and Cambridgeſhire into Eſſex.—His Sufferings.—His Trial.—The Judge prejudiced againſt him.—Uſed with great Cruelty in Priſon.—Dies by his hard Treatment there.

CHAP. VI.

1654. Richard Hubberthorn in Norfolk, committed to priſon.

RICHARD HUBBERTHORN coming into Norfolk, at Wymondham, feeling a Chriſtian concern to exhort the congregation in the ſteeple-houſe there, after the prieſt had ended his ſermon, was committed to Bridewell, and from thence the next day to Norwich caſtle, where he was lodged in a very incommodious priſon, being a poor hole in a croſs wall, and there detained till the time of the ſeſſions. On his appearance there, the juſtices waving the original cauſe of his commitment, took occaſion from his appearing before them with his hat on to charge him with a contempt of authority, and under that pretence recommitted him to priſon, where he lay a long time after.

George

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1654. George Whitehead and James Lancaſter impriſoned.

George Whitehead alſo, believing a duty required of him to go to that called Peter's church in the city of Norwich, to bear ſuch teſtimony as the Lord might give him, in endeavouring to diſcharge his duty, was haled out and much hurt, and from thence hurried to the Guildhall before the mayor, who examined him concerning water baptiſm and ſome other things, in hopes to get ſome anſwer from him which might furniſh a more plauſible pretext for committing him to priſon than the occaſion he had given by his Chriſtian exhortation as above; but getting no advantage againſt him from his anſwers, he committed him to priſon notwithſtanding. James Lancaſter, for calling the people to repentance in the market at Norwich, with one Chriſtopher Atkinſon, had been committed to the ſame priſon a ſhort time before, where not complying with the jailer's extravagant demands, they lay in their clothes on the floor for eight weeks in the cold winter, which was a great hardſhip, eſpecially on George Whitehead, a youth of eighteen years of age, who had been tenderly educated by his parents.

Diſcharged.

At the enſuing ſeſſions for that city, George Whitehead and James Lancaſter were diſcharged by the court, but ſtill detained by the jailer under pretence of fees ſeveral weeks longer, till the jailer died, and his widow, of a more merciful diſpoſition, ſet them at liberty.

Atkinſon being of a rougher temper, for uttering ſome bitter expreſſions againſt his oppoſers, was detained longer in priſon by actions laid againſt him by a prieſt and an attorney, and by giving way to heat and paſſion he fell from the tenderneſs of his firſt convincement, and miniſtered

miniſtered occaſion to the adverſaries to ſpeak reproachfully.

1654. Thomas Symonds impriſoned, and George Whitehead viſiting him is detained.

Not long after this Thomas Symonds, for aſking a prieſt a ſerious queſtion reſpecting his doctrine, was committed to Norwich caſtle; and George Whitehead going to viſit him and another of his friends under confinement, was by order of the mayor detained there about three weeks, without any cauſe but the arbitrary will of the magiſtrate. Theſe repeated inſtances of deſpotic rule in men profeſſing a ſacred regard to religious liberty, and under colour of procuring which, they had not heſitated to plunge the nation into all the miſeries of a civil war, have furniſhed the oppoſite party, not without much plauſibility, with occaſion to bring under ſuſpicion the ſincerity of their pretenſions: That under the pretext of redreſſing grievances, they meant only to wreſt the ſceptre out of the hand that bore it, to wield it with equal or ſuperior ſeverity over thoſe, who were not of their own ſentiments in their religious as well as political creed.

1655. John Laurence being convinced is ſummoned to a meeting of the independents for leaving their communion.

Amongſt numbers who were convinced in thoſe parts by theſe able miniſters of the goſpel, Richard Hubberthorn and George Whitehead, was Captain John Laurence, (and moſt of his family) who having been a member of ſome conſequence, of an independent congregation at Norwich, was ſummoned to their meeting in the pariſh church, called George's of Tombland, to anſwer their charge againſt him for leaving their communion; and he being diſpoſed to appear was accompanied by George Whitehead. The charge againſt him was in effect, His forſaking their church or communion; his entertaining ſtrangers or perſons dangerous; and holding dangerous

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dangerous doctrines. To the first he answered, That in his forsaking their communion he had followed the apostle's advice, Tim. ii. 3. "Having the form of godliness, but denying the power, from such turn away."

G. Whitehead attempting to exhort the people is violently assaulted by the rabble,

After [a] John Laurence had given his reason for leaving them, they proceeded to excommunicate him; and a great concourse of people being gathered upon the occasion, George Whitehead felt a lively concern animating his mind to deliver a brief exhortation among them; but had scarce stood up, when he was pulled down, and held down by force, till some of their church haled and pushed him out of the steeple-house, and exposed him to a rude multitude, prepared for violence and mischief, from whom he received much gross abuse, being dragged along the street, frequently thrown down on the stones, and thereby grievously hurt and bruised. Thus dragged out of the city, he came near a great house belonging to a lady Hubbard, her chaplain coming out to see the occasion of the tumult entered into discourse with George Whitehead; and during their discourse the mob, who seemed intent upon further mischief, stood round them in a ring to

and rescued by a trooper,

hear what passed. In the mean time a trooper coming up, and seeing how he was beset, kindly offered him his assistance, and rescued him from their hands: for laying his hand on his sword, and commanding the mob to give way, he conducted him safely to his quarters at Thomas Symonds's house in the city. This trooper, whose name was Robert Turner, was afterwards convinced, and joined the society of the people called Quakers, residing at Lynn in Norfolk.

Richard

[a] George Whitehead's Journal, p. 54, 57.

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1655.

Richard Hubberthorn [b] being ſtill detained a priſoner in Norwich caſtle, George Whitehead continued moving about, and attending meetings in Norfolk and Suffolk, ſometimes alone, ſometimes accompanied by Richard Clayton and others. After Richard Hubberthorn was ſet at liberty they joined again as companions in goſpel fellowſhip, and had ſeveral large and comfortable meetings together. In ſeveral of theſe meetings they were interrupted by oppoſition from ſome of the preachers of other ſocieties; and by moderate enquiries for the clearer underſtanding of their doctrine from others; and were endued with wiſdom and recollection of ſcriptures to anſwer the objections of the former, and ſatisfy the enquiries of the latter; whereby two of them, Richard Townſend, and John Burch, a preacher among the baptiſts, were ſo far affected by their inſtructive remarks in the explanation of their doctrines, that after a ſeaſon of ſerious conſideration they were both convinced of the truth thereof, joined in ſociety with friends, and in proceſs of time became ſerviceable members and miniſters among them.

R. Hubberthorn being ſet at liberty George Whitehead and he joined again in travelling.

[c] On the 30th of the month called July 1655, George Whitehead, John Harwood and Richard Clayton paſſing through Buers, a town in Suffolk, the ſaid Richard Clayton did fix a paper on the door of the Steeple-houſe there, being as follows, viz.

R. Clayton fixes a paper on the ſteeple-houſe door at Buers.

" If you do ſet up ſuch miniſters as ſeek for " their gain from their quarter, you ſet up ſuch " as the prophet Iſaiah diſapproves of, Iſa. lvi. " 11. And you that do ſet up ſuch as bear " rule by their means, you ſet up ſuch as the " prophet

[b] George Whitehead's Journal, p. 60, 62. [c] Ibid.

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" prophet Jeremiah and the Lord diſapprove, " Jer. iv. And you that ſet up ſuch as ſeek for " wool and make a prey upon the people, you " ſet up ſuch as the prophet Ezekiel diſapproves " of, Ez. xxxiv. And you that ſet up hire- " lings, you ſet up ſuch as Micah diſapproves " of, Micah iii. And you that ſet up ſuch as " are called of men *maſter*, ſtand praying in " the ſynagogues, have the chiefeſt places in the " aſſemblies, you ſet up ſuch as Chriſt diſap- " proves." Mat. vi and xxiii. With ſundry other quotations from ſcripture.

This paper being ſtuck up[d], ſome people came together to read it, to whom George Whitehead and John Harwood gave a Chriſtian exhortation *to live in the fear of the Lord, and to turn from the evil of their ways, &c.* While they were ſpeaking a conſtable came and carried them before Herbert Pelham, an Eſſex juſtice, then at Buers, who examined them, though officiouſly, being out of his precinct, and then ſent them, together with Clayton, to Thomas Waldgrave, a juſtice at Small-bridge, who having aſked them a few Queſtions, left them in the cuſtody of the conſtable till Pelham and he had laid their heads together The iſſue of their conſultation was, that Richard Clayton, by Waldgrave's order, was whipped publicly as a vagabond, and ſent out of the town the ſame day with a paſs; a proceeding not juſtifiable by law, Clayton being a man of reputation, and known to have a competent eſtate. John Harwood was the next day ſent to Edmundſbury gaol, and George Whitehead the day following; and a few weeks after George Rofe was ſent to the

G. Whitehead, J. Harwood and R. Clayton taken up.

Clayton whipped and ſent away with a paſs; the others impriſoned.

G. Rofe impriſoned.

[d] George Whitehead's Journal, p. 67, 68.

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the ſame priſon by juſtice Gurdon with a mittimus aſſigning no breach of law nor any matter of fact, nor indeed had he given any juſt occaſion of offence, except his aſking a queſtion of the prieſt of Stoke after his ſermon, at which the prieſt was diſpleaſed, and the juſtice to avenge the parſon's quarrel, took this extrajudicial courſe to ſend the poor man to priſon.

Indicted at the ſeſſions and fined.

At the next quarter ſeſſions [c] Whitehead, Harwood and George Roſe, were indicted as common diſturbers of the magiſtrates and miniſters. The juſtices who committed them were their ſole accuſers, and incenſed againſt them; and an ignorant jury being empanneled, by direction of the court preſently found them guilty; whereupon they were fined twenty nobles each, and recommitted to priſon till payment. George Fox of Chaſefield, commonly called George Fox the younger, to diſtinguiſh him from the other of that name, being preſent at the trial, and obſerving the prejudice expreſſed by juſtice Gurdon againſt the priſoners, ſaid to him, as he was coming out of the ſeſſions houſe, *Repent of thy unjuſt actions this day, for otherwiſe thou canſt not eſcape the juſt judgment of God.* Upon this Gurdon laid hold on him, and had him before the bench, who demanded ſureties till the next ſeſſions, which he not complying with, they ſent him to priſon with the others.

On the 22d of November Henry Marſhal, for ſpeaking a few words to a prieſt after his ſermon was ended, was, by order of juſtice Gurdon, firſt ſet in the ſtocks, and then ſent to Edmundſbury jail. At the next ſeſſions he was fined twenty marks, and remanded to priſon. At

[c] George Whitehead's Journal, p. 69, 70.

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At the ſame ſeſſions George Fox was called, but no indictment laid againſt him; yet the court ſent him back to priſon.

Their hard uſage in priſon.

The uſage of theſe five priſoners was very hard: Becauſe they would not gratify the jailer's avarice in paying him the price he demanded for their lodging, but demanded a free priſon, not knowing how long their impriſonment might continue, he turned them down to the common ward among the felons, in a low dungeon with a damp earthen floor, where they lay upon rye-ſtraw; becauſe they declined advancing his gains by buying his ſtrong liquors, againſt the uſe of which they had a conſcientious ſcruple; becauſe they bore their teſtimony againſt the drunkenneſs, ſwearing, and other diſorders in his houſe; and becauſe they reproved him for his hypocriſy, who, while he ſuffered, and for his gain promoted theſe diſorders, made high pretenſions to religion; and on the day called Sunday would ſummon his priſoners together, pretend to give them inſtruction, and exerciſe a kind of devotion among them: for which inconſiſtency of conduct, and fruits ſo oppoſite to religion, being charged with hypocriſy, his daughter exclaimed, [f] *What! do you call my father a hypocrite, who hath been a ſaint theſe forty years!* But it was ſuch ſaintſhip as his which brought too much of the religion of this age into diſrepute. For theſe cauſes he was exceedingly embittered againſt them, ſo as often to ſtrike them on the face, and grievouſly abuſe them various ways, both by words and blows. His ſervants alſo, and ſome of the drunken priſoners, encouraged by his example, were often exceedingly

[f] George Whitehead's Journal, p. 80, 81.

exceedingly abuſive to them, by their expreſſions and miſchievous actions; the priſoners frequently took away their food and other neceſſaries, alledging the jailer gave them leave ſo to do; and one more deſperately wicked than the reſt frequently kicked and ſmote them, and threatened in a drunken fit to kill them, ſaying, *If he killed them he ſhould not be hanged for it.* CHAP. VI. 1655.

It was, as hath been remarked, becauſe they would not take rooms from him at his price, but demanded a free priſon, that they were thruſt into the common ward among felons, and groſsly abuſed there by the jailer's connivance, if not inſtigation: Yet even here they could not obtain a free priſon; for after they had been in priſon about thirty weeks, he demanded arrears of dues for fourteen pence a week from each of them, which they, who were obliged to buy even the ſtraw they lay upon, remonſtrating againſt as an unreaſonable demand, he ordered the turnkey *to take away their bed-clothes and boxes, which was done;* and he threatened *to take their coats from off their backs.* Their bed-clothes being taken away, they were obliged to lie in part of their body-clothes upon ſtraw for the ſpace of twenty-four weeks [f].

When a woman friend brought them ſome neceſſaries of linen, &c. to replace what had been taken from them, the jailer cauſed them to be ſeized. When proviſions were brought them, they were examined before they would be ſuffered to be delivered. One time being enraged at their conſtant teſtimony againſt the drunkenneſs, ſwearing, and other groſs diſorders abounding in the jail through his ſelf-intereſted con-

[f] George Whitehead's Journal, p. 82, 83, 85.

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nivance, the jailer cauſed them to be put down into a dark diſmal dungeon, in which was a dangerous deep pit. When their friends came to viſit them, they would not be permitted; and if they endeavoured to ſpeak to them at the window or door of the jail, they had frequently water thrown upon them to drive them away.

Enquiry into their hard treatment, ordered by Oliver Cromwel, &c,

At length an account of their hard uſage was ſent to ſome of their friends in London [g], upon which they made application to the Protector and his deputy Fleetwood, repreſenting the inhuman treatment they had received: And an order was ſent down to have the matters of fact complained of examined into by four juſtices; who hearing their complaints in the jailer's preſence, which he could not gainſay, ſome of them blamed the jailer, and charged him not to ſuffer his ſervants to abuſe them, for if they did they would ſend them to Ipſwich jail.

After this examination they met with better treatment: the jailer, although exaſperated at their expoſing of his cruelty, was reſtrained, through fear, from exerciſing himſelf, or ſuffering his ſervants or priſoners to exerciſe cruel abuſe toward them, as hitherto he had done; and therefore afterwards, when provoked, contented himſelf with calling them ill names. But one of the juſtices, named *John Clark*, being the jailer's neighbour, and a fellow member of the ſame community, in favour of his reputation, and that of his religious profeſſion, ſeemed to diſcover a manifeſt partiality to his ſide, endeavouring as much as he could to palliate or extenuate the jailer's miſconduct; ſo that from his behaviour through the whole examination,

[g] George Whitehead's Journal, p. 84, 87, 91, 92.

mination, they conceived little hope of a full and impartial account's being returned to the protector by them; or that their releaſe would follow the juſtice's repreſentation, which it did not for ſome time.

But the report of their barbarous treatment, and of the hardſhips which they endured, ſpreading abroad, again reached their friends in London, which cauſed them to be more ſolicitouſly concerned for their relief, and to redouble their efforts to effect it by repeated applications to Oliver Cromwell; which being ſeconded by the private applications of Mary Sanders, (afterwards Mary Stout) a waiting gentlewoman in Cromwell's family, and one of the people called Quakers, whoſe prudent and exemplary conduct had gained her a reſpectful eſteem in that family; their joined ſolicitations at laſt procured the following order for their releaſe, after an impriſonment from twelve to fifteen months [h].

" Thurſday the 16th of *October*, at the Council
" at *Whitehall*.

" Ordered, by his Highneſs the *Lord Pro-* Order for
" *tector*, and the Council, that the *Quakers* im- their re-
" priſoned at *Colcheſter* in the county of *Eſſex*, leaſe.
" and *Edmundſbury* and *Ipſwich* in the county of
" *Suffolk*, be forthwith releaſed and ſet at liber-
" ty. And it is referred to Sir *Francis Ruſſill* to
" take care that the ſame be done accordingly;
" as alſo to conſider how the fines ſet upon them,
" or any of them, (if any) may with moſt con-
" veniency be taken off and diſcharged; and
" likewiſe to take order, that upon their being

[h] George Whitehead's Journal, p. 93, 94.

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"ſet at liberty they be forthwith ſent to their "own homes.

"*W. Jeſſop*, Clerk of the Council."

Purſuant to this order Sir *Francis Ruſſill*, who was a moderate man, and averſe to perſecution, cauſed them immediately to be ſet at full liberty, without any reſtriction as to returning home, leaving them at liberty to travel whitherſoever the perſuaſion of duty or inclination might prompt them.

George Whitehead adds that in all their hard perſonal ſufferings they were favoured with peace and conſolation in the inward ſenſe of divine ſupport, bearing up their ſpirits and ſtrengthening their faith, and preſerving their bodily health; under the feeling whereof, in their afflictions, they were frequently made to ſing praiſes to his holy name, who thus preſerved them, to the aſtoniſhment of their fellow priſoners[i].

Account of James Parnel.

In the beginning of this year James Parnel, who hath been already mentioned to have been convinced in a conference with George Fox, during his impriſonment in the dungeon at Carliſle, travelled ſouthward alſo, labouring in the miniſtry of the goſpel, and the propagation of thoſe doctrines he received as truth; for which ſervice he was eminently qualified, although but a youth of about eighteen years of age. He was born at Retford in Nottinghamſhire, and had the advantage of a good education, in the ſchools of literature[k]. He was convinced of the truth of the principles of the people called Quakers, and joined them in ſociety as early as the ſixteenth year

[i] George Whitehead's Journal, p. 95, 96. [k] Sewel, p. 106.

year of his age, and for that reaſon was deſpiſed and rejected by his relations. Being low of ſtature, his bodily preſence appeared contemptible, which encreaſed the admiration of his excellent mental qualities, in thoſe who could view him through the medium of cool judgment, diveſted of envy and prejudice; for in the perſon of the apparently deſpicable lad, were concealed the wiſdom and underſtanding of age and experience, the affecting preacher, and able diſputant; being always ready to give a reaſon of the hope that was in him, and maintained the doctrines which he preached againſt their oppoſers. In qualifications for the miniſtry he ſeemed behind few of his fellow labourers; in ſuffering for his teſtimony he experienced even greater ſeverity and inhumanity. CHAP. VI. 1656.

He took his journey through Huntingdonſhire and the Iſle of Ely into Cambridgeſhire, preaching the goſpel and diſputing with oppoſers. At Cambridge, for publiſhing a declaration againſt corrupt miniſters and corrupt magiſtrates, he was impriſoned, and detained in priſon over two ſeſſions, and afterwards turned out of the town as a vagabond. He ſoon after returned, and diſputed with the ſcholars of the univerſity, from whom he met with very rude and cruel treatment. He thence proſecuted his journey into Eſſex (being the firſt called a Quaker who preached the goſpel in that county.) At Stebbing, Felſted, Witham, Coggeſhall and Halſted, and other places, he preached with remarkable effect, many by his miniſtry being convinced of the truth of his doctrine. About the middle of ſummer he came to Colcheſter, and on the firſt day of the week preached to a large number of people, firſt at his lodging, then at the

Travels through Huntingdonſhire and Cambridgeſhire into Eſſex.

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the public place of worſhip; next in a great meeting appointed on purpoſe. After that he diſputed with the town-lecturer and another prieſt in the French ſchool, all in one day; in which labours the wiſdom and patience of the true Chriſtian manifeſtly appearing, a conſiderable convincement was the fruit of his inceſſant labour. Among the reſt, Stephen Criſp, a man of good parts, coming to diſcourſe or diſpute with him at his lodging, and James appearing at firſt ſight a mere boy, he viewed him with a contemptuous eye; but upon entering into diſcourſe with him, the awful frame of his ſpirit, the weight and conciſeneſs of his expreſſions fixed ſo deep an impreſſion on the mind of Stephen Criſp, that he was effectually convinced, and became himſelf an eminent publiſher of the ſame doctrines. James Parnel ſpent the reſt of that week there in preaching, exhorting and diſputing to the convincement of many more; while others were provoked to ſuch a degree of rage, as often to reward with blows his fervent zeal for their reformation. In particular, as he was coming out of Nicholas's Steeple-houſe in that town, he was met by a blind zealot, who ſtruck him a violent blow with a great ſtaff, ſaying, "Take that for Chriſt's ſake;" to whom this innocent ſufferer meekly replied, "Friend, "I do receive it for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake." From thence he went to Coggeſhall, where the independent profeſſors had appointed a * faſt on purpoſe

Stephen Criſp convinced by him.

* It was no unuſual thing for the profeſſors of thoſe days to appoint public faſts, and days of humiliation, frequently on no very important occaſions; but by their fruits they too often manifeſted their humiliation to be but voluntary humility, their praying will-worſhip, and their faſting the faſt of the

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poſe to pray againſt the ſpreading of error, by which they meant the doctrine of the people called Quakers. The prieſt who officiated on the occaſion had prepared a ſermon, replete with the common-place invectives againſt that people, the fruit of prejudice and prepoſſeſſion. James Parnel being preſent, eſteemed it his duty to vindicate himſelf and brethren againſt his opprobrious miſrepreſentations; but ſtood ſtill till the prieſt was coming out of the pulpit, he then began with theſe words: *This is the order of the true church, that all may ſpeak one by one; and if any thing be revealed to him that ſtands by, let the firſt hold his peace.* Then proceeding in his vindication of the Quakers (ſo called) in reply to an aſſertion of the prieſt, that they were on a ſandy foundation, he ſignified, *I am ready to prove that the Quakers are not on a ſandy foundation, and that thou art a falſe prophet and a deceiver.* After ſome words had paſſed, a perſon ſtanding by accuſed Parnel, that he owned no church: He

the hypocrite. The day of humiliation giving no interruption to the purſuit of their ambitious views; their praying, performed in an unforgiving ſpirit, diſcovered in their vindictive diſpoſition to all that oppoſed them, or thwarted their meaſures; and their faſting to be ſeen of men: on many other occaſions as well as this proving them proper objects of the ſevere reprehenſion of the prophet Iſaiah, delivered in the name of the Almighty to the Jews, "Behold, ye faſt for "ſtrife and debate, and to ſmite with the fiſt of wickedneſs; "ye ſhall not faſt as ye do this day, to make your voice to "be heard on high. Is it ſuch a faſt as I have choſen, a "day for a man to afflict his ſoul? Is it to bow down his "head as a bulruſh, and ſpread ſackcloth and aſhes under "him? Wilt thou call this a faſt or an acceptable day to "the Lord? Is not this the faſt that I have choſen: to "looſe the bands of wickedneſs, to undo the heavy burdens, "to let the oppreſſed go free, and that ye break every "yoke?" Iſaiah, lviii. 4, 5 and 6.

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He replied, *That's falſe:* Being aſked, what church he owned, he anſwered, *the church in God.* Whereupon the prieſt ſaid, *that was nonſenſe:* Parnel taking a bible out of his pocket ſhewed it was a ſcriptural expreſſion, and charged the prieſt with blaſphemy in calling it nonſenſe.

His ſufferings.

Upon his coming out of the Steeple-houſe he was apprehended and brought before four juſtices. After examination he was committed to Colcheſter Caſtle, where he was cloſely confined. And at the time of the enſuing aſſizes at Chelmſford, he was faſtened to a chain with felons and murderers, and ſo led above twenty miles through the country, remaining chained both day and night.

His trial.

At his trial he was brought to the bar handcuffed, but the people exclaiming againſt that barbarity, at his next appearance his manacles were taken off. The accuſations brought againſt him were, That in a riotous manner he did enter into the pariſh church of Great Coggeſhall, that he there did ſtand and told the miniſter *he blaſphemed and ſpoke falſely, uſing many other reproachful words againſt him: And that he could not give a good account where he was laſt ſettled, or of his life or converſation, appearing to be an idle perſon.* He was alſo accuſed *with contempt of the magiſtracy and miniſtry.* In his defence he alledged, *That he entered the Steeple-houſe in no riotous manner; but came thither perfectly quiet and alone without any diſturbance:* That he had told the prieſt *he blaſphemed* in ſaying *the church in God was nonſenſe* he denied not; but did not own himſelf a vagabond or idle perſon. *And he did not think it either criminal or indecent to call an unjuſt judge* unrighteous, *a perſecutor* perſecutor, *or a deceiver* deceiver.

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The Judge prejudiced againſt him.

The judge ſeemed to be predetermined againſt him, ſaying, the Lord Protector had charged him to puniſh ſuch perſons as ſhould contemn either magiſtrates or miniſters; and in his charge to the jury he directed them to bring him in guilty. After conſultation, the jury found nothing to lay to his charge but a book or paper, entitled The Fruits of a Faſt, in which he had anſwered the juſtice's mittimus, in purport agreeing with the accuſation before recited; and wherein he expoſed the errors and inconſiſtency of the charge againſt him, juſtified the peaceableneſs of his own demeanour, and gave a ſolid account of the work of divine grace upon his ſoul, and of the neceſſity laid upon him to teſtify againſt the formalities and will-worſhip of human invention; and this writing he had owned to be his. But being indicted for a riot, they found themſelves under a difficulty to agree in their verdict. The judge and the clerk ſtrove to wreſt ſome expreſſions for their purpoſe from the foreman, which the others did not conſent to, and himſelf was unwilling to anſwer their queſtions fully. James Parnel was then made to withdraw, and being called in again, the judge fined him 40l. for contempt of the magiſtracy and miniſtry, and re-committed him to the ſame priſon till he ſhould pay the fine. And the jailer was ordered not to admit any *giddy-headed people*, by whom were meant his friends, to have acceſs to him.

His perſecutors, who by their paſt treatment diſcovered a diſpoſition of malicious cruelty, having thus far carried their point in obtaining a ſentence againſt him, whereby they had him entirely in their power, lead us to open a ſcene, which (when we contemplate the innocence, meekneſs and patience of the ſufferer on one hand,

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hand, and the perſevering inſatiable cruelty of his enemies on the other) is ſufficient to raiſe commiſeration in every breaſt leſs obdurate than theirs.

Uſed with great cruelty in priſon.

The jailer, cruel in his own diſpoſition, or inured to cruelty by his office, punctually obſerved the orders he had received; for he would ſuffer none to come near him but ſuch as came to abuſe him; and the jailer's wife, equally cruel, not only ordered her ſervant to beat him, but ſtruck him with her own hands, ſwearing ſhe would have his blood [l]. When his friends ſent him victuals, ſhe ordered the other priſoners to take them; and when a bed was ſent him, ſhe refuſed him the uſe of it, but obliged him to lodge on the hard damp ſtones. After this he was put into a hole in the caſtle wall, not ſo wide as ſome baker's ovens, which hole was a great height from the ground; and the ladder placed for the purpoſe of going up to it, being ſeveral feet too ſhort, he was obliged to climb up and ſlide down by a rope to fetch his victuals and other neceſſaries; for when his friends would have given him a cord and baſket to draw up his food by, the ſavage keeper would not ſuffer it. By lying long in that damp hole his limbs grew greatly benumbed, ſo that as he was once going up the ladder with his food in one hand, attempting to catch the rope with the other, he miſſed his aim and fell down on the ſtones, whereby he received ſuch contuſions in his head and body that he was taken up for dead [m]. After this he was put into a hole underneath the other, there being two ſtories of ſuch narrow vaulted holes in the wall. In this, while the door was ſhut,

[l] Sewel, p. 108. [m] Ibid. and Beſſe, v. i. p. 193.

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ſhut, was ſcarce any air, there being no other aperture to admit it. Thus bruiſed with his fall, and ſhut up where he could hardly breathe, his life appeared in imminent danger; whereupon two of his friends, William Talcot and Edward Grant, wealthy tradeſmen of the town, offered to be bound in ſufficient bonds, and Thomas Shortland, another of his friends, offered to lie in priſon in his ſtead, ſo that he might have liberty to go to William Talcot's houſe till he might recover of his bruiſes; but this was denied. Nay, ſo great was the inhumanity and inexorable malice of his perſecutors, that when they were requeſted only to grant him the common privilege of the other priſoners, liberty to walk ſometimes in the yard, they would not grant it by any means. It happened once that the door being open, he went out of the hole into a narrow yard between two walls, at which the brutal keeper was ſo enraged, that he locked up the door and ſhut him out in the yard all night, in the extremity of winter. His tender conſtitution, unable to ſupport ſuch ſevere ſhocks, ſunk under the multiplied hardſhips of his unmerited impriſonment, and after ten or eleven months he fell ſick and died. Two of his friends, Thomas Shortland and Ann Langley, were preſent at his departure. When death appeared, he ſaid, *Here I die innocently;* and a little after, turning his head to Thomas, *This death I muſt die, Thomas, I have ſeen great things, don't hold me, but let me go.* He had repeatedly ſaid one hours ſleep would cure him of all. His laſt audible words were, *Now I go;* and then ſtretched himſelf out and breathed his laſt. Though he finiſhed his courſe in his youth, dying about the age of nineteen, he had approved himſelf a ſtrong

Dies by his hard treatment.

His character.

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ſtrong man in Chriſt, and having an eye to the eternal recompenſe of reward, was preſerved in faithfulneſs to the end, through manifold ſufferings, with remarkable innocence, patience and magnanimity. The mere conſideration of the youth of real offenders hath not uncommonly excited commiſeration, even towards ſuch as have been guilty of flagrant enormities, and procured a mitigation of their puniſhment or pardon of their crimes. But the relentleſs obduracy of his perſecutors ſeems to have been proof againſt every incentive to ſenſations of compaſſion or humanity; no regard to the tenderneſs of his youth, to the innocence of his demeanour; to the ſolicitations of his friends, or to the danger of his dying under their hands, could prevail upon them to relax of their rigorous treatment in the leaſt degree. And inſtead of repenting of their cruelty, the apparent cauſe of his death, they ſeemed to continue it even beyond the grave; for they raiſed a ſlanderous report, that he was the occaſion of his own death, by wilfully refraining from food, which, whether it originated in the remains of that malicious diſpoſition, the effect of which he ſo ſeverely felt, or from conviction of guilt to palliate the infamy of their unmerciful uſage, was proved abſolutely untrue by the teſtimony of credible witneſſes, who were frequently with him during his ſickneſs; and to whom that groundleſs calumny was a clear indication of the deep rooted malice or criminal policy that invented it.

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CHAP. VII.

Sufferings of William Dewſbury.—Impriſonment of him and Joſeph Storr.—Examination before the Judges Hale and Windham.—Impriſonment of John Whitehead and Marmaduke Storr.—Second Examination before Judge Atkins, and Recommitment.—Releaſed by Order from Oliver Cromwell.—Thomas Stubbs impriſoned.—Committed to Bridewell and whipped.—Edward Burroughs writes to the Protector.—Reflections on Cromwell's Conduct in regard to the People called Quakers.—Account of John Lilburn: 1. Proſecuted in the Star Chamber, and put in the Pillory. 2. Proſecuted by the Long Parliament, and acquitted. 3. Proſecuted by Cromwell, acquitted, but detained in Priſon.—In Dover Caſtle he is convinced of the Principles of the People called Quakers.—Anne Downer committed to the Houſe of Correction and whipped.—Miles Halhead and Thomas Salthouſe taken up and paſſed as Vagrants.—An angry Prieſt procures their Impriſonment.—Their Examination.—Committed to Exeter Jail.—Indictment at Seſſions.—Cruel Uſage of Margaret Kellam.

CHAP. VII. 1656.

So *epidemical* was the cauſeleſs inveteracy againſt this people; ſo general the perſecution under which they ſuffered, that we ſcarce meet with one perſon, whoſe travels and ſervices are preſerved on record, who eſcaped perſonal abuſe or cruel impriſonment in any quarter of the nation.

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1656. Suffering of Wm. Dewſbury.

tion. William Dewſbury about this time travelling in Northamptonſhire, came to Wellingborough, where as he was paſſing along the ſtreet, the prieſt Thomas Andrews called out to him "Give over deceiving the people, leſt the "plagues of God fall upon thee[a];" to whom William replied, "Doſt thou ſay I deceive the "people? make it appear wherein I deceive "them[b]." Andrews anſwered, "Thou telleſt "them there is no original ſin;" to which William Dewſbury rejoined, "Didſt thou hear me "ſay any ſuch words?" upon which the prieſt went away. William being thus in public charged by the prieſt as a deceiver, thought himſelf called upon, in vindication of his own character, and that of the ſociety, to bring the prieſt to the proof of his charge or public acknowledgment of the truth: For that purpoſe he went ſoon after to the Steeple-houſe, and waiting till the people were diſmiſſed, he ſpake to them, who gave attention to his exhortation. Then addreſſing himſelf to the prieſt, he ſaid, "Thou haſt accuſed me of deceiving the peo-"ple; prove thy accuſation before this audi-"ence, or acknowledge the falſehood of it." But the prieſt without giving an anſwer went away: And William was haled out of the worſhip-houſe into the yard, where he preached to the people again, who ſtood quietly to hear him, till the high conſtable came, and laying hold of him led him to the market place, ſaying he would bring evidence againſt him for blaſphemy. After a ſhort time he was let go, and lodged at a friend's houſe that night; but next day a conſtable apprehended him with a warrant, granted againſt

[a] Sewel, p. 119. [b] Beſſe, v. i. p. 518.

againſt *the Quaker*, without mentioning his name, and took him before a juſtice, who committed him to Northampton jail by a mittimus, which was ſaid to contain a charge of *blaſphemy;* wherefore William ſolicited for a copy of it; but his requeſt, though juſt and reaſonable, *was not* granted. CHAP. VII. 1656.

By the ſame mittimus Joſeph Storr, who only came to hear his friend's examination, and againſt whom there was no accuſation, was ſent to priſon along with him: So arbitrary were the proceedings of thoſe magiſtrates, under a government profeſſedly ſet up for diſpenſing univerſal liberty. They were impriſoned in a dungeon, twelve ſteps under ground, among felons, till the enſuing quarter ſeſſions, at which they were brought before the bench of juſtices, where their mittimus was read: a copy of it again requeſted and refuſed. Impriſonment of him and Joſeph Storr.

No cognizance was taken of their cauſe, but they were remanded to priſon, to lie there till the next aſſizes. At which they were brought before the judges Hale and Windham, and after a long examination, in which nothing criminal was made out againſt them, they were offered their liberty, on condition of giving bail for their good behaviour, and alſo for their appearance at the next aſſizes; which propoſal they were unwilling to comply with, as an unreaſonable demand from them who had given no juſt occaſion for it, being neither convicted nor guilty of ill behaviour[c]. They were recommitted to the ſame filthy dungeon, amongſt the felons as before, till another aſſize. In the mean time ſeveral other of their friends were ſent to bear them company in priſon in the like arbitrary Examination before the judges, Hale and Windham. Returned to priſon.

[c] Beſſe, v. i. p. 519.

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trary manner, viz. John Whitehead, Marmaduke Storr, and Francis Ellington.

1656. Imprisonment of John Whitehead and Marmaduke Storr.

John Whitehead going into the Steeple-house at Wellingborough, and waiting quietly till the public worship was ended, asked the priest some questions about his doctrine and practice, to which he made no answer, but in contempt called him madman, and went away: But the people generally staying, were soon convinced he was not mad; for his powerful preaching and rational discourse impressed very different sentiments of him on their minds, procuring their assent to the soundness of his doctrine and his understanding. Intelligence of this being carried to the priest, irritated him to challenge John to a dispute; but the issue mortified him still more, because he missed his aim, which was to get some matter of complaint to the magistrates. He next wanted John to meet him before a persecuting justice to settle the dispute; but he avoided this open snare, signifying to the priest that he must appoint some other place. He then sent him notice to meet him at a public lecture, which he accordingly did; and there being several other ministers and many people present, he waited quietly till their service was over: Then he proposed a question to the preachers, which they refused to answer; and Andrews, the priest, who had challenged him to dispute, instead of entering into the discussion of their differing religious sentiments, launched out into personal invectives and accusations against John Whitehead, who was not at a loss to vindicate his character by plain truth, to the conviction of many of the people. The priests seeing themselves not like to compass their design by these means had recourse to their last argument. By-

field,

field, prieſt of Torrington, having laid violent hands on John, and dragged him by force out of the Steeple-houſe; a warrant was procured to apprehend him as a vagrant, and he was carried before two juſtices, convened for that purpoſe. In contradiction to the charge, he inſiſted he was no vagrant, that he could prove his habitation and manner of living by one of his neighbours, a ſubſtantial man, if they would admit him to come in. Upon this Marmaduke Storr was called, who informed them of the place of John's reſidence, and that he had a wife and family, whom he maintained reputably [d].

CHAP. VII. 1654.

Then they aſked Marmaduke his name and place of abode, and what was his buſineſs in thoſe parts? He gave them full ſatisfaction in theſe points: that his reſidence was in Holderneſs, and his occupation that of a grazier; that his buſineſs there was to viſit, and be an aſſiſtant to his brother Joſeph Storr, priſoner at Northampton; and that from thence he propoſed to proceed into Staffordſhire to renew the leaſe of his farm near expiring. The account he gave both of himſelf and his neighbour was ſo unexceptionable that the juſtices were at a ſtand, and after ſome conſultation with the prieſts, dropt the pretence of vagrancy, and determined to enſnare them both another way. They aſked Marmaduke if he would confirm his teſtimony upon oath, and finding that he would not, they tendered them both the oath of abjuration. They anſwered, that they had ſufficiently demonſtrated their good affection to the commonwealth, in aſſiſting it with their perſons and eſtates in times

Marmaduke Storr.

[d] Beſſe, v. i. 524.

CHAP. VII. 1655.

of its greateſt ſtraits, that they were well known to be no papiſts, but that they could not ſwear for conſcience-ſake. They then required ſureties of them for their good behaviour, and upon their refuſal they were committed to priſon, whereby M. Storr was prevented from getting his leaſe renewed; ſo that his family were conſtrained to remove, and carry off his ſtock at a day's notice, to his great detriment. And theſe, as well as the former, were detained in priſon till the enſuing aſſizes, [e] in the month called July, 1655, when they were all brought before Edward Atkins, Judge of Aſſize, before whom they paſſed under a long examination, for it cannot be properly termed a trial, there being nothing againſt them to found an indictment upon, nor any living witneſs produced only an information exhibited by the Clerk, that W. Dewſbury, came into the church of Wellingborough, and ſtood there during the time of ſermon and prayers with his hat on: and after the Miniſter had done, he ſpoke theſe words "the Prieſts preach for hire, and my people love to have it ſo, and what will you do in the end thereof," with other railing words, which made diſturbance among the people. In his vindication Dewſbury related the matter of fact as ſpecified before.

2. Examination before Judge Atkins.

The Judge after examination of him and his fellow-priſoners, finding the allegations againſt them too frivolous for his attention, expreſt his diſpleaſure at being troubled therewith; and altho' he conducted himſelf towards them with a degree of temper and moderation beyond ſome others, yet he left them where he found them, that is, recommitted them till the next aſſizes, upon

Committed to priſon again.

[e] Beſſe, vol. i. p. 525.

upon their refuſal to put in bail for their appear- CHAP. VII.
ance there*.

During 1655.

* Their trial or examinations at large, would take up more room than I can conveniently ſpare, and therefore refer thoſe who may deſire further information to Beſſe's Sufferings, vol. i. p. 518, &c. from whence this account is abſtracted. The examination, however, of Francis Ellington, diſcovering the meaſure of juſtice diſpenſed to them all, will ſerve as a ſpecimen of the reſt:

Judge. Which is Ellington? *F. E.* I am ſo called. *Judge.* What are you here for? *F. E.* I was in bonds 15 weeks for my appearance at the general ſeſſions, and when I appeared, no accuſer or evidence appeared againſt me; I was convicted of the breach of no law, yet thoſe called Juſtices committed me to gaol, where I have been kept in the dungeon theſe 13 weeks, among thoſe arraigned for felony and murder; being taken from my outward habitation at Wellingborough, from my outward calling, and from my wife and five ſmall children: and here am deprived of the benefit of the law of this nation, which no felon or murderer that is here is deprived of, for they have liberty to ſpeak for themſelves, and to have a fair trial, which is denied to us. *Judge, to the Clerk of the peace.* Where is your evidence againſt theſe men? *Clerk.* This Ellington is a receiver of theſe men, and here is a letter he writ to a Juſtice of Peace, wherein he accuſeth him of injuſtice in committing Dewſbury and Storr to priſon. *Judge.* Why do you trouble me with that which there is no matter of fact in? I much wonder you ſhould trouble a Judge of Aſſize with ſuch ſmall things, and not end them in your own ſeſſions, for we come hither to determine greater matters. Mr. Ellington, I have a great love for you, being a man that lives in this country: Will you enter into bond for your good behaviour, and to appear at the next aſſizes? *F. E.* I am of no evil behaviour, neither to this day hath any thing been proved againſt me, and if it can yet be proved by any one man here, that I have been of evil behaviour, or have broken any law of this nation, I am preſent to anſwer it, and give bonds for my liberty. *Judge.* You have tranſgreſſed the law, in that you come to the bar with your heads covered, becauſe it is a contempt of authority. *F. E.* There is no law in this nation requires any ſuch thing as putting off the hat; if there be any, I deſire it may be read, that ſo before the country I may be convinced by the law, before bonds may be required. *Judge.* I ſhall deal

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1655.

During their impriſonment their friends were not ſuffered to viſit them, but ſeveral who attempted it were taken up and ſent out of town with a paſs: About ſix months after their laſt examination as above, they were diſcharged by an order from O. Cromwell, after having ſuffered a grievous impriſonment (the two firſt 15 months) without any juſt cauſe or legal proceſs againſt them [f].

Releaſed by order from Oliver Cromwell.

Impriſonment of Thomas Stubbs.

Thomas Stubbs was another who experienced the illegal ſeverity of the magiſtrates of this county about the ſame time; being concerned to exhort the inhabitants of Daventry to repentance, he was for this office of chriſtian charity ſent to priſon by a Juſtice, of whom, when Thomas required *by what law he proceeded*, he received for anſwer, *by the law that ſaith all* Quakers *muſt go*

favourably with you, for I ſhall take your own bond to appear at the next aſſizes. *F. E.* Firſt prove me a tranſgreſſor of the law; for the righteous law of God ſaith, where there is no law, there is no tranſgreſſion; and there is no law in England that requires putting off the hat, therefore it is not a tranſgreſſion; for which reaſon I deſire I may have the benefit of an Engliſhman, which is not denied to any felon here among us; for I have to this day ſtood always faithful to the commonwealth, and have not forfeited any liberty, but have hazarded my life and eſtate to procure freedom, which I am now deprived of. *Judge.* If you will not put in bond, which I think is very reaſonable, take him away. *F. E.* For my behaviour, if there be any here that can accuſe me, I would have you countrymen to ſpeak, any of you; if not let all the poor people in Wellingborough, and the towns thereabout, and thoſe in Northampton, whom I have employed for thoſe 15 or 16 years, in carding, ſpinning, dying, and weaving, declare what my behaviour has been towards them or others: For, till I was caſt into priſon, I employed more poor people at work about wool, than any one man in this country doth; yet notwithſtanding what I have done and ſtill do, I may not have the benefit of the law, as all malefactors here have. *Judge.* Take him away.

[f] Beſſe, vol. i. p. 528. ibid.

go to priſon. On this ill-founded committal he was detained in priſon thirteen weeks, till the ſeſſions at which he was releaſed, and then ſent out of the county: Returning ſoon after to a meeting at Iſham, he was taken thence and by two Juſtices committed to bridewell as a vagrant, where he was cruelly whipped, and endured much hardſhip, being not ſuffered to purchaſe neceſſaries for his money.

1655.

Committed to bridewell and whipped.

Theſe arbitrary proceedings and ſeverities of the magiſtrates incited Edward Burrough by letter to apply to the Protector to put a ſtop thereto, wherein he reminded him of his vows in the day of his diſtreſs; and that he ſuffered cruelty, oppreſſion and tyranny to be practiſed in his name, by unjuſt impriſonments, and mercileſs perſecutions of a peaceable and religious body of people; that he was to be accountable to the great judge of all mankind for the uſe he made of the power he was inveſted with. It doth not appear that his plain-dealing either drew any marks of reſentment from the Protector, or any interpoſition of his authority to put a ſtop to the perſecution of his friends [g].

E. Burrough writes to the Protector.

It is aſſerted that Cromwell's principles were in favour of religious liberty, and that he allowed it in the fulleſt extent to all, but the papiſts and prelatiſts: yet the Quakers (ſo called) may be juſtly added to the number of thoſe who were not allowed that liberty. From what motive, in violation of his ſolemn profeſſions, confirmed by oath on his entrance upon the protectorate, and probably in violation of the convictions of his own conſcience he ſuffered and connived at the ſevere perſecution of this unoffending ſociety, is not eaſy perhaps to determine at this day. Moſheim writes, that "He entertained uneaſy apprehenſions concern-

Reflections on Cromwell's conduct in regard to the Quakers.

"ing

[g] Sewel, p. 122.

CHAP. VII. 1615. "ing them; and in his firſt thoughts formed a "reſolution to ſuppreſs their riſing community; "but when he perceived that they treated with "contempt both his promiſes and threatenings, "and were in effect too powerful, or too head-"ſtrong to yield to either, he prudently abſtain-"ed from force."

It doth not appear upon what authority this account is founded, or from what ſource he drew his intelligence of Oliver's private thoughts; but from any hiſtorical narratives, which have fallen in my way, or the records of their ſufferings kept amongſt *this* people, I recollect no inſtance of the Protector's either amuſing them with promiſes, or attempting to awe them by menaces; neither that he himſelf openly diſturbed them on account of their religious opinions or practices: yet thoſe who acted under his authority did grievouſly perſecute them, and he gave little or no check to their perſecution, although he had the power, and was repeatedly and earneſtly ſolicited to do it. I do not imagine, however, that the uneaſy apprehenſions he entertained of them was the ruling motive of his conduct towards them. They not only profeſſed themſelves to be followers of peace with all men, but exemplified their pacific principles, by their patience under ſuffering, and unreſiſting ſubmiſſion to all the trying injuries they were expoſed to, never betraying the leaſt ſymptom of a diſpoſition to revenge their wrongs, various and aggravated as they were; ſo that I imagine that Oliver's ſagacity and intelligence would not be long in diſcovering he had nothing to fear from them.

But there was another body of men, whom he might be fearful of offending, becauſe they have

have proved able to ſhake the foundations of eſtabliſhed governments, much more his recently uſurped dominion; the ſupporting himſelf in which at this time was with him the predominant conſideration: I mean the clergy or popular preachers of the age, a ſet of men who had ſhewn themſelves capable of exciting civil tumults to a diſaſtrous degree, and who, the greater part of them, ſeem to have imbibed a ſpirit of hatred and bitter animoſity againſt the Quakers, for their honeſt and undiſguiſed teſtimonies againſt their hypocriſy, ſelf-intereſtedneſs and luſt of power, no leſs than their bringing over many of their hearers, and maintaining it unlawful to take tithes, or preach for hire. Theſe men being the principal agents in promoting the perſecution in which they ſuffered, I am ready to conjecture, that Oliver, who made every religious and moral conſideration ſubordinate to that of retaining his ſovereignty, might conſider the Quakers as too contemptible, or too pacific a body to fear any danger from, even under the greateſt provocations; and that therefore he might ſafely connive at the oppreſſion and perſecution exerciſed by theſe men and their adherents, whereby he would keep them in temper, and attach them to his intereſt, to the ſtrengthening of his authority with the people; as, on the contrary, by diſobliging them, he might be fearful to add a powerful and dangerous party to the number of his adverſaries, who were already too many.

For not only amongſt the royaliſts and preſbyterians, but even amongſt the independents themſelves, he had created himſelf many enemies; and theſe laſt perhaps the moſt virulent as being agitated under a keener ſenſe of their more

CHAP. VII. 1655.

more recent diſappointment, in the abolition of their favourite republick, and the beholding of that power, which they expected to ſhare amongſt them, wreſted out of their hands, and uſurped by one man; who was therefore odious to them as the moſt perfidious of men, and the great betrayer of the publick cauſe [h].

Account of John Lilburn.

Amongſt the malecontents John Lilburn was one of the foremoſt to oppoſe his uſurpation. This man, originally a book-binder in London, ranked early with the aſſertors of civil and religious liberty on the broadeſt baſe. In his efforts in this cauſe, the ardency of his zeal, and the inflexibility of his temper, rendered him obnoxious to puniſhment or proſecution under the different ſucceſſive governments of this age. Firſt, in the year 1637, he ſuffered under the petulant tyranny of archbiſhop Laud, being accuſed before the Star-chamber for publiſhing and diſperſing ſeditious pamphlets, when refuſing to take an oath to anſwer to interrogatories, as being a violation of the privilege of Engliſhmen, ſecured by magna charta, whereby no man was bound to accuſe himſelf; for this contempt, as it was termed, he was condemned to be whipt, pilloried and impriſoned. During the execution of this ſentence he harangued the populace, and declaimed againſt the tyranny of the biſhops [i]. The Star-chamber, ſitting at this time, ordered him to be gagged, and added to his former puniſhment, the lying in irons, and confinement in that part of the Fleet where the baſeſt and meaneſt ſort of priſoners are uſed to be put. In the year 1640 he recovered his liberty, by order of the long parliament [k], and was decreed damages againſt

1. Proſecuted in the Star-chamber.

Put in the pillory.

[h] Rapin. [i] Macauly. [k] Smallet.

againſt his judges. On the breaking out of the war between the King and Parliament, his principles led him to ſide with the latter, and his merit with this party raiſed him to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, in which capacity he defeated the Earl of Derby on his march thro' Lancaſhire to join Charles II. in his invaſion of England. In the year 1649, after the civil war was terminated, and the independent members of the long parliament had fixed themſelves in the ſeat of government, Lilburn apprehending, that finding their ambition fully gratified, and taſting the ſweets of unlimited and undivided authority, their ſole aim was now the eſtabliſhing and perpetuating of the ſupreme power in their own hands, forgetting or overlooking the more generous alledged purpoſes, for which the war had been undertaken and carried on, to the overturning of the monarchy, viz. the redreſſing of the grievances of the ſubjects, and eſtabliſhing their liberties and immunities on a permanent foundation (and the ſequel ſeemed to prove his apprehenſions not entirely groundleſs) publiſhed a pamphlet, entitled [l] *England's Second Chains*. This liberty was ſo ill reliſhed, that he was thrown into priſon [m], as a promoter of ſedition and diſcord in the commonwealth, and illegally proſecuted; and altho' a petition was preſented to the parliament, ſigned by a vaſt number of ſubſcribers, to ſtop the proſecution they had commenced againſt him, and ſeconded by a female petition of the ſame tendency; yet, diſregarding theſe ſolicitations, the proſecution was carried on, and Lilburn was brought to a trial for high treaſon after about ſeven months impriſonment,

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2. Proſecuted by the long parliament, and acquitted.

[l] Sewel, p. 122, 123. [m] Hume.

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priſonment, on which occaſion his intrepid ſpirit did not deſert him; with invincible conſtancy he maintained his ſentiments, and pleaded his cauſe; ſo that, notwithſtanding powerful exertions to prevail on the jury to bring him in *guilty*, [n] he was acquitted, and after ſome time regained his liberty. Again, when Oliver Cromwell had uſurped the ſupremacy, this zealous partiſan of liberty roſe againſt his uſurpation, and both by word and writing exerted himſelf in repreſenting to the publick the treachery and tyranny of his proceedings, whereby Cromwell, being both provoked and alarmed, in the apprehenſion of the danger of his credit and authority being undermined by ſuch bold attacks, likewiſe ordered him into cuſtody, and to be impeached of high treaſon. At his trial he maintained the like intrepidity as before, aſſerting in anſwer to the charge againſt him, "That what he had done "was not only no high treaſon, but the go- "vernment was ſuch that no high treaſon could "be committed againſt it, and that it was the "duty of all good Engliſhmen to oppoſe it, as "a tyrannical uſurpation; that he might have "attained great preferment if he could have "brought himſelf to acquieſce in it; but be- "lieving this to be unlawful, his life was to be "a ſacrifice for his honeſty, but he was exempt "from fear, becauſe he was aſſerting a good "cauſe." After this defence the jury acquitted him, notwithſtanding the endeavours of the judges to the contrary. Being acquitted by the jury, his immediate releaſe was his legal right, but Cromwell, in defence of his own ſafety, thought it neceſſary to tranſgreſs the boundaries

3. Proſecuted by Oliver Cromwell.

Acquitted.

[n] Sewel.

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1655. Continued in priſon.

ries of law, and kept him in priſon, thro' the remainder of his government, during which time, being moved from one priſon to another, he was at length confined in Dover Caſtle. [o] His long confinement had changed the temper of his mind, from an active and buſtling to a ſerious and contemplative caſt, and preventing him from converſing in the buſy ſcenes of life, furniſhed him with opportunity to be more converſant with himſelf in religious recollection: In his confinement here, becoming acquainted with Luke Howard, an inhabitant of Dover, and one of the people called Quakers, before mentioned, and converſing with him on religious ſubjects, Luke gave him ſuch convincing reaſons for his profeſſion, [p] as gained Lilburn's aſſent, and brought him over to his ſentiments and profeſſion, in part at leaſt, as appears by the letters that paſſed between him and his wife at this time, the following abſtracts whereof will convey an idea of the preſent temper of their minds, whereby it may be perceived that adverſity had proved a ſchool of profitable inſtruction to them both.

In his confinement in Dover caſtle is convinced.

His wife having viſited him in priſon, ſoon after wrote him the following laconic admonition:

"My dear, retain a ſober, patient ſpirit, which "I am confident thou ſhalt ſee ſhall be of more "force to recover thee than all thy keen metal "hath been. I hope God is doing a work on "thee and me too, that ſhall make us ſtudy our-"ſelves more than we have done."

To

[o] Sewel. [p] p. 123.

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To which he returned in anſwer, after other paſſages:

"——————— I am deeply entered into my "part.—The mighty power of God enable thee "to get in too, and alſo go thro' thine, and ef- "fectually to go cheerfully and willingly along, "hand in hand with me.—I am ſorry thou art ſo "ſtraitly put to it for money; but to live upon "God in faith in the depth of ſtraits, is the lively "condition of a chriſtian.—I can now ſavourily "live on bread and cheeſe and ſmall-beer alone, "for ſaving of money. And as for my liberty, "about which thou ſo wearieſt and ſpendeſt thy- "ſelf, I can ſay in my preſent temper of ſpirit— "*It is good being here*; for here in Dover Caſtle, "through the loving kindneſs of God, I have "met with more clear, plain and evident know- "ledge of him, than ever I had in all my life- "time.—And now ſubmiſſively and heartily I "can ſay, the will of my heavenly Father be "done in me, by me, and for me."

Dover Caſtle, JOHN LILBURN.
4th 10mo. 1655.

After he had lain ſome time in Dover Caſtle, Cromwell ſeemed inclined to releaſe him, on condition of ſigning an engagement not to draw a ſword againſt his Government; but being not yet ſo far convinced, as to believe the uſe of the ſword unlawful, nor perfectly approving of that point of ſelf-denial, he refuſed to purchaſe his liberty on this condition. However, perſevering in fidelity to that knowledge of duty he had already attained to, he became in proceſs of time, ſo fully convinced of the unlawfulneſs of war under the Goſpel diſpenſation, as to make the following

lowing publication of his ſentiments: That being brought to believe in his inward teacher, which ſhall never more be removed into a corner, by the teachings thereof, he was taught to die to ſin, and to the very occaſion and real grounds of outward wars, and was therefore firmly perſuaded that he ſhould never thereafter uſe the temporal ſword, nor join with them that did. This paper was dated from Dover Caſtle, the 4th of 3mo. 1655. CHAP. VII. 1655.

He was continued a priſoner here till Cromwell's death, and then being liberated from his long confinement, he continued ſtedfaſt in his profeſſion of thoſe doctrines he had received as truth, and died in London, Anno 1660.

In this year, Anne Downer, of London, being one of the earlieſt ſufferers in that city, a maiden of about thirty years of age, and the firſt perſon of her ſex who preached publicly there, for ſome expreſſions againſt the preacher who officiated in the Steeple-houſe at Stepney, was committed to the houſe of correction, and detained there ten weeks, and becauſe ſhe refuſed to work was beaten with a rope's end. She was a woman of excellent endowments, and became exceeding ſerviceable in religious ſociety, fitly qualified to exhort others, and remarkably exemplary in her chriſtian care over perſons in ſickneſs and poverty [a].

Miles Halhead, and Thomas Salthouſe [b], travelling from their reſpective habitations in Lancaſhire and Weſtmoreland, with intention to viſit their friends impriſoned in Cornwall, in their paſſage through Devonſhire were apprehended, and Miles Halhead, and Thomas Salthouſe, paſſed as vagrants.

[a] Beſſe, vol. i. p. 361. [b] Ibid, p. 146.

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and after 14 days cloſe confinement at Exeter, were by warrant from Colonel Copleſtone, the high Sheriff, ordered to be paſſed as vagrants from thence to their own dwellings: an illegal procedure againſt men of ſubſtance and reputation, who travelled on horſeback, lodged at the beſt inns, and paid punctually for their entertainment. On the way between Taunton and Bridgewater, the officer who had them in charge was ſuddenly ſeized with a kind of apoplectic fit, which diſabled him from proceeding farther. They returned to Taunton and informed a juſtice of peace of the caſualty. He thereupon ſuſpended the further execution of the warrant, and ſet them at liberty, wiſhing the Lord might be with them.

Return to Plymouth.

They went to Briſtol and returned to Plymouth, where they had ſeveral meetings; one of which was in the garden of John Harris, his houſe being too little to contain the numerous auditory: their plain and powerful miniſtry reached the conſciences of many, and was generally well accepted. At the cloſe of the meeting, one George Brooks, a prieſt, chaplain of the Nightingale frigate, but a man of a * profligate character, ſpoke to the people in commendation of what had been delivered, declaring it to be the eternal truth. Thomas Salthouſe, a man of deep diſcerning, juſtly ſuſpecting the chaplain's ſincerity, remarked that he had ſpoken many good words; but withal aſked him, *Whether his life correſponded with his expreſſions? For that it was he who hath the witneſs in himſelf that can ſet to his ſeal that God is true.* The prieſt being irritated at this reproof, and meditating revenge, two days after

An angry prieſt procures their impriſonment.

* This was proved by ſundry certificates from Captains of Ships, &c. &c. See Sewel, p, 118.

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after procured a warrant from the Mayor, by which they were taken from a meeting at the houſe of Robert Cary, and impriſoned in Guild-hall: Next day they were brought before the mayor, magiſtrates and common council, who ordered the doors to be ſhut during their examination, which laſted three hours; after which they remained in cuſtody ſeveral days, while the magiſtrates, who had determined to ſend them to the county gaol, were deliberating how to form a plauſible pretence for their commitment. At firſt they charged them with denying the Trinity, of which they fully cleared themſelves. Then they tendered them the oath of abjuration, but the proclamation enforcing that oath giving no authority to impriſon any for their refuſal, they omitted proceeding thereupon. At length they made out their mittimus, grounded on reaſons either falſe or frivolous, or abſurd,

Their examination.

Commitment to Exeter jail.

1. As diſturbers of the publick peace. [A falſe charge.]
2. For divers other miſdemeanors. [A general charge unſupported by any matter of fact.]
3. For acting againſt a late proclamation prohibiting the diſturbing of miniſters and other Chriſtians in their aſſemblies. [It is obſervable that the meeting was of their appointment, and therefore the diſturbance, if any, was made by their proſecutor, and not by them.]
4. For acting againſt an ordinance of the Lord Protector and his council, lately made againſt duels, challenges, and provocations thereunto. [The abſurdity of this charge appears plainly at firſt view.]

5. For

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5. For refuſing to give ſufficient ſecurity for their appearance at the next general ſeſſions. This appears to be a direct falſehood, for two of their friends, Robert Cary and Arthur Cotton, had given ſecurity, and entered into recognizance, for their appearance, but on further deliberation it was vacated, under pretence it would not be according to law, and they were ſent to priſon next day. A certificate whereof was ſigned by thoſe two and nine others. *Sewel*, p. 116.]

Indictment at ſeſſions.

After ſix weeks impriſonment in Exeter gaol, they were indicted at the ſeſſions for a *breach of the ordinance againſt duels*, and particularly for *divers diſgraceful words and geſtures* againſt George Brooks, clerk, &c.

Witneſſes were provided to prove the indictment, one of whom on his way was heard to ſay, *I am going to Exeter to ſwear againſt the Quakers, and if ſwearing will do it I'll make them ſuffer ſoundly:* But the court did not chuſe to bring the matter to a fair hearing: For though they pleaded, and deſired a trial, their plea was refuſed, and no trial granted. But the oath of abjuration was tendered them in court, which, it is well known, they could not take, and only tendered as a pretext to prolong their impriſonment. In fine, they were fined 5l. a piece, and committed to Bridewell till payment, and finding ſureties for their good behaviour.

Purſuant to this ſentence they were removed from the county gaol to Bridewell, and a guard of ſoldiers placed over them, with ſtrict orders, ſigned by one Captain Joyce, *to detain all that ſhould come to viſit them, eſpecially if they ſuſpected them to be Quakers.* They lay on the ground in a cloſe dark room many days, and were continued

tinued near ſeven months under ſuch cruel uſage, as had the aſpect of a deſign to deſtroy them: for their perſecutors adminiſtered not any thing for their ſupport, but exerted their endeavours to prevent others from bringing them the common neceſſaries of life, and impriſoned ſeveral of thoſe who came to ſee and relieve them. But this extreme malice of their enemies rendered the chriſtian charity of their friends the more diſtinguiſhed, who frequently hazarded the loſs of their own lives to ſupply their wants. 1655.

In the ſame year Margaret Kellam, an innocent woman, of a tender conſtitution, good education and conſiderable property, was treated with great cruelty and ignominy, without any juſt occaſion adminiſtred on her part, as is manifeſt from the ſequel. [a] On the 19th of December ſhe went to the houſe of Peter Ceely, mayor of Plimouth, and told him ſhe had a word from the Lord to him: he bid her come in, heard her, and confeſſed that *what ſhe ſaid was very good and true*; yet was ſo diſpleaſed with this truth, that he ſent her to priſon, detained her there about a week, when at the interceſſion of her friends ſhe had liberty to return home. But on the 4th of the next month, about four o'clock in the morning, a conſtable and ſerjeant came to her chamber, broke open the door, and refuſing to ſhew their warrant, took her away by violence, tied a rope about her, bound her arms behind her, threw her acroſs a horſe, and tied her feet under its belly, and in this inhuman manner carried her ten miles. Then looſening the cords, they told her they had a warrant to carry her to Exeter gaol. There ſhe lay till the quar-

Cruel uſage of M. Kellam.

[a] Beſſe, vol. 1. p. 148.

CHAP. VII. 1655. ter ſeſſions, when endeavours were uſed to get an indictment drawn up againſt her; but the clerk and his coadjutors, altho' deſirous to do it, could find nothing in her conduct whereon to ground an indictment, and ſo ſhe was releaſed by the ſheriff after an impriſonment of about two months.

CHAP. VIII.

Impriſonment of G. Fox, Edward Pyott and William Salt in Launceſton Gaol—Their Trial before Judge Glyn.—P. Ceely accuſeth G. Fox of Treaſon.—Who refutes the Accuſation.—They are fined and recommitted to Priſon in Doomſdale.—The Juſtices at the Seſſions at Bodmin order the Dungeon to be cleanſed.—A Friend offers himſelf to lie in Priſon in G. Fox's ſtead.—Thomas Lower convinced.—The Priſoners diſcharged by an Order from Major General Deſborrow.—The Impriſonment of theſe Friends conducive to ſpread their Principles.

CHAP. VIII. 1656. A SHORT while before the beginning of the year 1656, G. Fox from London travelled weſtward. [b] At Pool, William Baily, a Baptiſt teacher was (with others) convinced by his miniſtry, and entered into ſociety with the people called Quakers, among whom he became afterwards an eminent miniſter. G. Fox continued his journey through Devonſhire into Cornwall to Market-Jew,

[b] Sewel, p. 127.

Jew, being accompanied by William Salt of London and Edward Pyott of Briſtol, where he wrote a paper containing an exhortation to fear God, and learn of Chriſt the light.

[c] This paper coming to the hands of Peter Ceely, a major in the army, and a juſtice of the peace, when G. Fox and his companions came to Ives, the place of Ceely's reſidence, while George was taking a walk by the ſea ſide, his two companions were taken into cuſtody, and brought before the ſaid Ceely, to whoſe houſe George ſoon followed, where the abovementioned paper being produced, he was aſked whether he would own it, and he ſaid, *yes*. Then he tendered him the oath of abjuration; upon which he drew from his pocket the anſwer to ſaid oath, which had been given to the Protector; they were all three nevertheleſs ſent to priſon under a guard of horſe with the following mittimus:

G. Fox, E. Pyott and W. Salt taken up in travelling in Cornwall.

" Peter Ceely, one of the juſtices of the
" peace of this county, to the keeper of
" his highneſs's jail at Launceſton,
" or his lawful deputy in that behalf,
" greeting.

" I ſend you herewithal, by the bearer hereof,
" the bodies of Edward Pyott of Briſtol, and
" George Fox of Drayton and Clea in Leiceſter-
" ſhire, and William Salt of London, which
" they pretend to be the places of their habi-
" tations, who go under the notion of Quakers,
" and acknowledge themſelves to be ſuch, who
" have ſpread ſeveral papers tending to the diſ-
" turbance of the publick peace, and cannot
" render any lawful account of coming into
" theſe parts, being perſons altogether unknown,
" and having no paſs for their travelling up and

Mittimus to Launceſton jail.

[c] George Fox's Journal.

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" down the country, and refuſing to give ſure-
" ties for their good behaviour, according to the
" law in that behalf provided, and refuſe to
" take the oath of abjuration, &c. Theſe are
" therefore, in the name of his highneſs the
" Lord Protector, to will and command you,
" that when the bodies of the ſaid Edward Pyott,
" George Fox and William Salt, ſhall be unto
" you brought, you them receive, and in his
" Highneſs's priſon aforeſaid you ſafely keep
" them, until by due courſe of law they ſhall
" be delivered. Hereof fail not, as you will
" anſwer the contrary at your peril. Given
" under my hand and ſeal at Saint Ives the
" eighteenth day of January, 1655.

" P. Ceely.

By this mittimus it is evident on what vague pretences the Quakers (ſo called) were committed to priſon; for ſuch frivolous reaſons as it is grounded upon might be urged againſt any man almoſt travelling where he is not known, even men of property and repute, ſuch as G. Fox's preſent companions were. Their guard was a company of unthinking and unfeeling mortals, by ſome of whom they were but rudely treated, and particularly by their captain, whoſe name was Keat. By theſe men they were guarded to Launceſton, and there delivered to the cuſtody of the keeper of the common gaol, who demanded of them ſeven ſhillings a week for their horſes, and the ſame for their own diet each. Being the firſt of this people ſeen in this corner of the nation, they not only excited wonder and curioſity in the people, who were, many of them, of a dark and inſenſible caſt; but

but by the novelty and ſimplicity of their manner and addreſs, they raiſed their animoſity and anger to a great degree. When they ſaw them addreſs every ſingle man of every degree as ſuch, with the plain appellation of *thou* and *thee*, when they ſaw them decline the compliment of the hat and knee to the great, no leſs than the mean, there were ſome ſo envious or ſo ignorant as to expect no leſs than that at the aſſizes they would be condemned to death, if they declined theſe marks of honour to the bench; yet there were many others of a more amicable diſpoſition, who from different parts of the country came to viſit and diſcourſe with them; with many of whom their religious conferences had that good effect, that they were convinced of the truth of the doctrine held forth by them. CHAP. VIII. 1656.

After nine weeks confinement the aſſizes came on, at which they were brought to their trial before judge Glyn a Welchman, at that time chief juſtice of England. [d] They were guarded to the court by a band of ſoldiers and the ſheriff's men, and ſo great was the curioſity raiſed in the people to ſee this new kind of priſoners, that it was with great difficulty they could make their way to and from the court, through the multitude with which the ſtreets were crouded; all the doors and windows were alſo filled with ſpectators, as if to ſee ſome ſtrange ſight. Hiſtorians generally agree that the Protector in his civil adminiſtration paid a juſt regard to equity and clemency; and was careful to fill the benches with judges of integrity, who did juſtice without reſpect of perſons. But this chief juſtice did not appear at that Their trial before judge Glyn.

[d] G. Fox's Journal. Sewel, p. 128.

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this time to act up to that character. He was ſo highly offended at their appearing before him with their hats on, that when they made the reaſonable demand of juſtice for their impriſonment for nine weeks wrongfully, being taken up without juſt cauſe in their journey by major Ceely, he refuſed to hear them, unleſs they would appear before him uncovered, which (it being to them a matter of conſcience) amounted to an abſolute refuſal, being only to be heard and receive juſtice on a condition they could not comply with. Inſtead of granting their demand, an indictment was read againſt them, conceived in ſuch terms, that at firſt G. Fox thought it had been againſt ſome of the thieves; for it aſſerted, that *they came by force and arms, and in an hoſtile manner, into court*, whereas they were brought thither as priſoners, which made them ſay, *it was all falſe*, and there ſeems to have been no judicial procedure upon it. Then major Ceely falſely and abſurdly charging G. Fox with making him privately a treaſonable propoſal of raiſing forty thouſand men to bring in King Charles, George deſired their mittimus might be read in the face of the country, that the real cauſes of his commitment might appear. [e] This requeſt, equitable as it was, the judge repeatedly refuſed to comply with. At their next appearance, the priſoners repeated their requeſt to have their mittimus read, and the people appearing deſirous to hear it, one of his fellow priſoners, having a copy, was permitted to read it aloud. Which being done, G. Fox remarked upon it, that if he would have given ſurety, he might ſtill have been at full liberty to carry on the deſign

Ceely accuſes G. Fox of treaſon.

G. Fox refutes the accuſation.

[e] Sewel, p. 130.

design (if he had any) which Ceely charged him with, at the same time appealing to the court, whether Ceely had not made himself a party in the treason by omitting it in the mittimus, desiring him to go out of the country, and never charging him with pretended treason, nor making any discovery thereof till now.

The judge clearly perceiving, that in this accusation Ceely instead of ensnaring G. Fox had ensnared himself, let that business fall. Ceely then finding this intended snare broken, got up again, and accused him, that he struck him such a blow as he never had in his life; seeming thus to sport with justice, truth and conscience, in idle endeavours to criminate innocence with groundless absurdities; for this blow he alledged himself to have received from G. Fox proved to be nothing more than a merited reproof, for an hypocritical complimenting of him, while he was suffering under his malicious imprisonment.

In fine, either from the mittimus, the indictment, or Ceely's accusations, no sufficient grounds of legal crimination appearing, the judge instead of discharging them whom he could not condemn, or regarding their demand of justice for their false imprisonment, ordered them to be taken away; and in their absence fined them twenty marks a piece for coming into the court with their hats on, and ordered them to be detained in prison till their fines were paid.

Fined and recommitted to prison.

Being thus fixed in prison upon such a commitment, that there was little probability of their being speedily released, they thought it necessary to discontinue the weekly payment of seven shillings a piece for their diet for themselves, and as much for their horses, which the jailer had hitherto, in a manner, extorted from them. This defal-

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defalcation of his oppreſſive gains ſtirred up the wicked temper of this jailer to uſe them with great inhumanity: He turned them down into a diſmal dungeon, called Doomſdale, uſually appropriated to the reception of atrocious criminals, after their condemnation. [f] This place was noiſome beyond deſcription, it being remarked that moſt who were confined there loſt their health thereby; for the excrements of former priſoners were ſaid to have remained there unremoved for many years, ſo that it was all like mire, in ſome places to the top of their ſhoes, and the jailer would not ſuffer them to cleanſe it, nor to have beds or ſtraw to lie on. They were therefore obliged to ſtand there all night, the place being too filthy to allow them room to ſit down. Thus they were kept a conſiderable time before he would let them cleanſe it, or ſuffer them to have any victuals brought in, but what they got in through the grate, and even this with difficulty.

in Doomſdale.

The juſtices at the ſeſſions at Bodmin give order for cleaning the dungeon.

This cruel treatment continued till the ſeſſions at *Bodmin*, when upon repreſenting their caſe to the juſtices, they obtained an order *for opening the door of Doomſdale, and that they might be ſuffered to clean it, and buy their proviſions in the town;* having obtained this liberty, they ſent for Anne Downer, [g] a young woman before mentioned, from London, to come down to them to buy and dreſs their meat; who readily complied with their requeſt, attended them chearfully, and became a ſerviceable aſſiſtant to them during their confinement here.

A friend offers himſelf to lie in priſon for G. Fox.

While G. Fox lay here in priſon, one of his friends offered himſelf to O. Cromwell to lie in priſon, body for body, [h] in George's ſtead; to which

[f] G. Fox's Journal. [g] Sewel, p. 132. [h] Ibid.

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which propoſal Cromwell anſwered, *he could not grant it, being contrary to law*, and turning to ſome of his council ſtanding by him, queried, *Which of you would do as much for me, if I were in the ſame condition?* Upon this, and other applications on their behalf, he ſent an order to the governor of Pendennis caſtle to examine into the circumſtances of their caſe: On which occaſion, Hugh Peters, one of the Protector's chaplains, remarked to him, that *He could not give George Fox a better opportunity of ſpreading his principles in Cornwall, than by impriſoning him there.* The truth of which obſervation the ſequel confirmed, for he was viſited by many perſons of repute, of whom ſeveral embraced his doctrine; one of whom was Thomas Lower, a phyſician of London, who aſking many queſtions concerning religion, received ſuch clear anſwers from G. Fox that he ſaid, *his words were like a flaſh of lightening, they ran ſo through him*, adding, *that he never met with men of ſuch wiſdom and penetration in all his life.* By their means he became fully convinced of the truth of their doctrine, and thenceforward entered into community with them. The whole time of their impriſonment was about thirty weeks, when they were diſcharged by an order from major general Deſborrow.

Thomas Lower convinced.

Diſcharged.

The caſe of the jailer who had ſo barbarouſly uſed them is obſervable. He before lay under the infamous character of a thief, and was ſaid to have been burned in the hand, and in the next year after their releaſe he was turned out of his place, and for ſome crime was caſt into jail himſelf, [i] where for his unruly behaviour, he was

[i] Beſſe. Sewel, p. 133.

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was by the ſucceeding jailer put into Doomſdale, locked in irons, and beaten; and bid to remember how he had uſed thoſe good men in that naſty dungeon. Thus the divine juſtice overtook him, deſervedly rewarding him with the ſame meaſure, which he had unjuſtly meted to others. At length he died in priſon *poor* and *miſerable*.

Their impriſonment conducive to ſpread their principles.

Their impriſonment was (through the ordering of divine providence) conducive to the propagating their principles extenſively through the weſtern counties, and adding conſiderably to the number of their proſelytes; not only of thoſe who came to viſit them in priſon, and were convinced by G. Fox there; [k] but many others by the miniſtry of other friends, who being incited by brotherly ſympathy to come from different parts of the nation to viſit them, and other friends in priſon here and in the neighbouring counties, were at the ſame time engaged to exerciſe their miniſterial labours as they paſſed along, and met with convenient opportunities, in declaring their experience of the virtue of true religion to the people, in order to excite them to the attainment thereof for themſelves; and theſe labours met with a cordial reception from many, who were convinced thereby. Their ſucceſs alarmed the prieſts and profeſſors, and they, as uſual, inſtigated the magiſtrates to interpoſe their authority to check their progreſs. For which purpoſe the juſtices in [l] Devonſhire made an order of ſeſſions to apprehend, as vagrants, all Quakers travelling without a paſs. They alſo appointed watches in the ſtreets and highways, under pretence of taking up ſuſpicious

[k] G. Fox's Journal. [l] Beſſe, vol. I. p. 149.

picious perſons, principally with intention to take up theſe friends of theirs on their journey to viſit them in priſon, and to put a ſtop to their preaching; in conſequence whereof, in the ſummer of this year, above twenty perſons male and female were committed to Exeter gaol. At the aſſizes the men were fined and confined in like manner as G. Fox had been, for appearing with their hats on; and the women were remanded to priſon till they ſhould find ſureties for their good behaviour. They were lodged among the felons, and lay generally upon ſtraw, by reaſon of which, and the filth of the place, many of them fell ſick, and one of them, named Jane Ingram, died there. CHAP. VIII. 1656.

In tracing the variety of arbitrary and unjuſt proceedings againſt this body of people, one might imagine that in theſe unſettled times, notwithſtanding the profeſſed high notions of civil liberty, little regard was paid to legal rule: That men deſtitute of the feelings of humanity, of virtue and good ſenſe, ſuddenly ſtarting up into offices of power, which their original ſtation gave them little reaſon to expect, and for which by their education and prejudices they were ill qualified, knew no bounds of moderation in the uſe of it; and that their politicks, no leſs than their religion, conſiſted more in ſpecious pretenſions, than in a clear comprehenſion of the principles of real liberty, and a practice regulated thereby. * For theſe magiſtrates and officers of their watches took up not only ſtrangers, but Remarks.

* We have a curious account in Thomas Elwood's journal of the manner of his being taken up, and the treatment he met with: Calling at Iſaac Penington's, in his return from London, and deſigning to proceed home into Oxfordſhire, his

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but their own neighbours travelling about their lawful occaſions, as clothiers going to the mill, and others upon affairs of buſineſs: Of thoſe, ſome were cruelly beaten, and others taken up and

his friend kindly accommodating him with a horſe as far as he might chuſe, at Beconsfield he ſent back the horſe, intending to walk the reſt of the way; but he had not walked to the middle of the town before he was ſtopped and taken up by the watch. He aſked the watchman by what authority he ſtopped him on the highway, who produced an order from the conſtables to take up all rogues, vagabonds and ſturdy beggars. Thomas thereupon aſking for which of theſe he took him, and informing him at the ſame time of the ſignification of theſe terms, and that none of them belonged to him, though the fellow was too ignorant to anſwer him, he was ſtrong-headed enough to detain him: after ſome time the conſtable, being ſent for, came; who appeared ſomething more mannerly but not much wiſer than his watchman. Being at a loſs how to diſpoſe of his priſoner, he went to conſult with the chief men of the town upon the ſubject, who aſſembling in a poor hut, denominated the Town-houſe, he was by the conſtable brought before the mock-ſenate, ſome of whom eying him with a ſupercilious air, aſked him ſome impertinent queſtions, to which he returned ſuitable anſwers. Then they entered upon conſultation how to diſpoſe of him till they could take him before a juſtice to be examined. At laſt to ſave charges they concluded to make him walk about the ſtreets with the watch till next morning; till one of this grave aſſembly wiſhed them to conſider whether they could anſwer that, and if the law would bear them out in it. An old woman who lived in this town-houſe (who had in her youth lived with ſome of his anceſtors) being preſent at their conſultation, upon hearing the priſoner's name, gave them ſuch an account of his family as made them ſuſpect their priſoner as good a man as themſelves. Whereupon the council broke up, and the conſtable took him home to lodge at his houſe that night, and the next morning, propoſing as a favour, to let him ſlip out at the back door and make off, he ſignified, that as he came in, ſo he would go out at the fore door; when he appeared determined he was ſuffered to depart his own way, after being cauſeleſsly detained on his journey home. *G. Fox. W. Sewel.*

and whipped for vagrants, tho' men of conſiderable property and eſtates, and not above four or five miles from their habitations. Henry Pollexfen, who had been a juſtice of peace for the moſt part of forty years, and conſequently well known for what he really *was*, *they caſt into* priſon for a jeſuit.

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New Parliament.—Samuel Fiſher attempts to deliver a Meſſage to the Protector, Parliament and People.—Being prevented he publiſhes it in print. The Parliament paſſeth an Act againſt Vagrants, which ſeems deſigned againſt the People called Quakers.—Sufferings of ſeveral Perſons of that Denomination.—Account of James Naylor.—He comes to London.—Martha Simmonds's Complaint to J. Naylor at firſt rejected by him.—Afterwards her paſſionate Sorrow makes an Impreſſion, darkening hisUnderſtanding.—He is reproved by G. Fox, but ſlights his Admonition.—He is taken up at Briſtol and committed to Priſon.—Sent up to the Parliament.—His Sentence.—Remarks thereupon.—Ineffectual Petition in his Favour.—Firſt Part of his Sentence executed.—Second petition—Rejected—J. Naylor viſited by five Preachers.—Execution of the ſecond Part of his Sentence.—He is ſent to Briſtol and whipped there.—His Recantation.—Taken ill and dies.—Reflection upon his Caſe—Account of John Camm.

IT was about this time the Protector thought it neceſſary to convoke a parliament to ſit on the 17th September, better adapted to anſwer his purpoſe, CHAP. IX. 1656.

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New parliament.

poſe, than thoſe he had before ſummoned under that denomination. He is thought to have been conſcious of the weakneſs of his title to the dignity he poſſeſſed, having only received it from hands which had no right to beſtow it. [m] The authority of a parliament, therefore, appeared to him requiſite to confirm his own; but as he had found by experience that, in the preſent temper of the times, a free parliament could hardly be procured to coincide with his main deſign he uſed every art in his power to influence the elections, and to get a decided majority of his friends into the houſe; and in order to make ſure of this point, he placed guards at the door, to permit none to enter but ſuch as produced a warrant from his council; and the council rejected about an hundred, who either refuſed a recognition of his government, or were on other accounts obnoxious to him. The reſidue ſeemed implicitly reſigned to act under Cromwell's dictates.

Sam. Fiſher attempts to deliver a meſſage to the Protector and parliament.

Samuel Fiſher, beforementioned, late prieſt of Lydd, from an impulſe on his mind, was preſent at the opening of this ſeſſions, and heard the Protector's ſpeech, in which he aſſerted, *that he knew not one man that ſuffered impriſonment unjuſtly in all England.* After the ſpeech was ended, Samuel Fiſher, taking a convenient ſtand, ſaid, that he had a word to ſpeak from the Lord to the Protector, the parliament and the people; but had not proceeded far, till he was interrupted by an exclamation, *A Quaker, a Quaker, keep him down, he ſhall not ſpeak.* [n] This prohibitory exclamation is ſaid not to have ariſen from either the Protector or members, who diſcovered no diſinclination to hear him, but from two angry

[m] Rapin. [n] Sewel.

angry juſtices and ſome others, by whom being interrupted, the Protector aroſe, and the houſe broke up.

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Being prevented he publiſheth it in print.

Fiſher, by this interruption, being deprived of the opportunity of delivering his meſſage (to which undertaking apprehending himſelf unequal, he had deſired to be excuſed from it, with faſting, tears and ſupplications) took the only method left him to eaſe his mind of its burden, by publiſhing in print the ſubſtance of what he intended to have ſpoken; being a zealous reprehenſion of the hypocriſy of thoſe, who under a ſhew of godlineſs, made long prayers, and kept frequent faſts; yet at the ſame time lived in pride, pomp and luxury, and perſecuted thoſe who were in reality a pious and conſcientious people. With an admonitory caution to the Protector, that, *unleſs he took away the wicked from before him, and all flatterers and falſe accuſers, his throne would never be eſtabliſhed in righteouſneſs.*

Remark.

This parliament appears to have been of a complexion to which the foregoing reprehenſion might not be improperly applied, as they ſoon manifeſted their promptitude to give a ſanction to perſecution. It hath been evidently ſhewn what an illegal and deſpotick rigour was exerciſed by the bigotted and paſſionate magiſtrates of this age, who diſclaiming perſecution in theory, practiſed it in reality, in the miſapplication of the laws againſt vagrants, to the puniſhment of men truly religious, for their religious perſuaſion of duty, in travelling at their own charges to preach the goſpel, and propagate righteouſneſs and purity of life in the nation. This parliament, as if to give a ſanction to their unreaſonable ſeverity, and ſtrengthen their hands

in

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in oppreſſion and cruelty, early paſſed an act againſt vagrants, and wandering, idle, diſſolute perſons, under which deſcription they comprehended all who were gone from home, and could not give a ſatisfactory account of their buſineſs. [k]

Remark.

If the Quakers (ſo called) found themſelves before expoſed to tyrannical puniſhments, and cauſeleſs deprivation of their liberty, this combination of the legiſlative with the executive power rivetted their chains, as it deprived them of all hope of redreſs, and exempted their perſecutors from all fear of controul. When we conſider this act ſo perfectly coinciding with the mode of proceeding before adopted by inveterate magiſtrates, in bringing them to puniſhment, one muſt conclude that many of theſe prejudiced magiſtrates had been admitted into this packed Parliament, or had a great influence over the members; or elſe that their teachers had leavened both into one ſentiment and diſpoſition towards this *inoffenſive* body of men, as the act ſeems plainly deſigned to legalize their arbitrary manner of puniſhing, and the title expreſſed in vague and indefinite terms, on purpoſe to admit a latitude of conſtruction, whereby it might be extended to comprehend ſuch of them as travelled abroad to propagate their doctrines, which as their adverſaries could not confute by argument, they ſeemed determined to ſuppreſs by violence; and by an arbitrary ſtretch of power, to make harmleſs actions illegal, ſince the general tenour of their conduct adminiſtered no juſt cauſe of crimination. For the vagrancy is applied, not only to idle, diſſolute perſons, but all that go from home, who cannot give a ſatisfactory account of their buſineſs; but what account ſhould be deemed

[k] Macauley. Sewel.

deemed ſatisfactory ſeems to be left to the judgment, or caprice of the civil magiſtrates to determine at his diſcretion. Leaving the admirers of the government of the nation at this æra to reconcile ſuch an act to *any juſt notion* of civil liberty, I proceed to the conſequential ſufferings of ſeveral of this people, wherein we ſhall view the ſame ſpirit of hoſtility and intemperate domination actuating the magiſtrates in the execution, through the remainder of the preſent and ſucceeding year; but I mean not to ſwell the volume, or exerciſe the reader's patience with a full recital of the various caſes of ſufferers under this act, preſerved in the authentick records before me; but to reſtrict myſelf to a few of the moſt remarkable, as a ſpecimen of unfeeling perſeverence in inflicting, and *patient equanimity* in ſuſtaining, unmerited puniſhment. CHAP. IX. 1656.

Henry Clifton, only riding through Upwell in Cambridgeſhire, was taken up by a conſtable, and carried before a neighbouring juſtice; and after ſome reproach and deriſion, ſent by him to another juſtice four miles diſtant, by whom without any reaſonable cauſe he was ſent to priſon, where he lay in the dungeon among condemned felons a conſiderable time. Ann Blakely, for openly teſtifying againſt the corruption of the times, being alſo impriſoned at Cambridge and detained there ſix months, during her impriſonment, two of her friends, Richard Hubberthorn and Richard Weaver, being moved in brotherly ſympathy to pay her a viſit, were, for this office of chriſtian duty, and no other cauſe, themſelves caſt into priſon: They had travelled from home, and the account they could give of the motive of their journey, however reaſonable and laudable, if not ſatisfactory to a prejudiced magiſtrate, he had doubtleſs an authority from the H. Clifton. Ann Blakely. R. Hubberton and R. Weaver.

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preceding law to commit them, probably during pleaſure. The ſaid Richard Hubberthorn for not departing the town at the mayor's command was alſo ſent to the houſe of correction for three months.

Devonſhire. Tho. Curtis and J. Martindale.

Thomas Curtis of Reading, [b] woollen-draper, coming to Plymouth upon affairs of trade, went from thence accompanied by John Martindale to Weſt-Alvington: being in bed at a friend's houſe, a conſtable with attendants came with a warrant at midnight, and next day carried them before two juſtices, who ſent them to Exeter gaol, notwithſtanding that upon their examination, they made it appear that they were travelling upon lawful and requiſite affairs of buſineſs: They were brought before the judge at the enſuing aſſizes, where nothing was laid to their charge; but the judge, taking occaſion from their hats, fined them 40l. a piece for contempt, for nonpayment of which they were kept priſoners above a year after. During his impriſonment Martindale having obtained leave of the jailer to viſit a friend at Ilcheſter went to meeting at Cullington, where he, Humphry Sprague and Thomas Dyer lodged at a friend's houſe. In the evening two conſtables came and required the ſtrangers to go with them, which (they having no warrant) was refuſed. Next morning they came with a warrant, and carried them before the juſtices at the quarter-ſeſſions at Honiton, to whom they gave account of their places of abode, being one of them but two miles from home, and another not above five: however the juſtices ſentenced them all as vagrants, to be whipt in the market-place, and ſent with a paſs from

J. Martindale, H. Sprague, Tho. Dyer.

[b] Beſſe, vol. I. p. 149.

from tything to tything, which was accordingly done.

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George Whitehead after his releaſe from Edmundſbury jail took the opportunity of paying a religious viſit to his friends in the city of London, a ſervice which he had in proſpect before his impriſonment, but was prevented thereby: his viſit was very acceptable to friends, and conducive to the convincement of ſeveral, through his powerful and effectual miniſtry. His ſtay in the city was not long, till he thought it his duty to go back into Eſſex and Suffolk, notwithſtanding his late ſuffering and impriſonment there, and the inimical diſpoſition of ſeveral of the magiſtrates to the ſociety of which he was a member; for being favoured with the conſcious ſenſe of inward peace, in reward of the faithful diſcharge of apprehended duty, and relying upon divine protection for ſupport, while they continued in the way thereof, the miniſters of that day were neither to be deterred by the remembrance of paſt, nor the proſpect of future ſufferings.

G. Whitehead.

Having travelled through Eſſex and part of Suffolk, appointed ſeveral meetings and met with a variety of occurrences, he appointed a meeting at Nayland at a friend's houſe, which being too ſmall for the purpoſe, the meeting was held in the yard or orchard, which many friends from Eſſex and Suffolk, as well as others, attended. While Geo. Whitehead was in the courſe of his teſtimony, a perſon, under the character of a gentleman, ruſhed into the meeting, with a rude company of attendants, and with violence pulled him down while he was preaching, and ſome of them with the conſtable took him to Aſſington, before John Gurden, an old and bitter adverſary,

Taken before juſtice Gurden.

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who, as ſoon as he appeared before him, began to threaten him; upon which George deſired his moderation, to hear him before he paſſed judgment; to which, he replied, *you are a moderate rogue: moderate rogue!* ſaid George, ſuch language doth not become a magiſtrate, eſpecially one profeſſing chriſtianity.

Gurden repeating his menaces, and unſeemly language, bidding him *go quake*, after ſome examination, ordered his clerk to take it down in writing, which being read, George was required to ſign it, which he refuſed to do, as being partially taken. Afterwards Gurden bringing a law-book in his hand, read an abſtract of a ſtatute againſt vagrants, ſturdy beggars, idle and diſſolute perſons, pedlars, tinkers, &c, with the penalty appointed for them. And although the priſoner came no more under any of theſe deſcriptions, properly underſtood and applied, than the juſtice himſelf, yet he was informed by this juſtice, that *they had ordered him to be whipped at* Nayland, and if he came again into the country, *he ſhould be branded in the ſhoulder for a rogue; and if he came a third time he ſhould be hanged.* To which menace George replied, *I am no ſuch perſon as thou haſt mentioned; thou art an old man, and going to thy grave, and doſt not know how ſoon the Lord may put an end to thy days, and diſappoint thy evil deſigns againſt me: however I fear not thy threats: If the Lord whom I ſerve require my return into thoſe parts, I muſt obey him.*

By whom he is ordered to be whipped.

The warrant for his puniſhment being ſigned and ſealed by John and Robert Gurden, father and ſon, two juſtices, was delivered to the conſtable with this charge from R. Gurden, to ſee it executed upon him to purpoſe at his peril. The copy of the warrant followeth, viz.

To

" To all Conſtables, and all whom it may con- CHAP. IX.
" cern, and every of them."

" Be it remembered, That one George White- 1656.
" head, a young man of about twenty years of Warrant
" age, who confeſſeth himſelf to have been born for the execution.
" at Orton in Weſtmoreland, being this preſent
" day found a vagrant, and wandering at Nay-
" land in this county, contrary to the laws of
" this nation, and being thereupon brought be-
" fore us, two juſtices of peace for this county,
" is by us ordered to be openly whipped at
" Nayland aforeſaid, till his body be *bloody*, as
" the law in ſuch caſe enjoineth: and he is to
" paſs thence from pariſh to pariſh by the officers
" thereof the next way to Orton aforeſaid, before
" the firſt day of June now next enſuing. Dated
" at Aſſington in this county of Suffolk the firſt
" day of April 1657."

The warrant was the next day put in execution, Severity of the execution. with ſuch ſeverity as diſplayed the malignancy, and acrimony of the juſtices and officers in full light. The conſtable procured a fooliſh fellow, without feeling or diſcretion, to inflict the puniſhment, who being provided with a long ſharp whip, laid on his ſtripes with unmerciful violence, whereby George Whitehead's back and breaſt were grievouſly cut, his ſkin torn, and his *blood* ſhed in abundance, and the inſenſible fool ſtill went on, unreſtrained by the conſtable, till ſome of the ſpectators, who were numerous, and many of whom were ſo affected at beholding their cruelty as to drop tears, cried out to ſtop him; whilſt the victim of the juſtices' vengeance was ſo ſupported in patience, ſo filled with inward peace and conſolation in Chriſt, under the cruel torture and mangling of his body, that his ſpirit was raiſed, and his mouth opened to ſing aloud in praiſe to that divine being, who had counted him

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him worthy to ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs' ſake, to the amazement and conviction of the by-ſtanders.

When the hand of the executioner was ſtayed by the cry of the people, G. Whitehead, as he ſtood there, undreſſed with his wounds and ſtripes freſh upon him, addreſſed the ſpectators, informing them it was a proof of a miniſter of Chriſt patiently to endure affliction, according to the Apoſtle's teſtimony, 2 Cor. vi. *Approving ourſelves as the miniſters of God in much patience, in afflictions, in ſtripes, in impriſonments, in tumults:* Whereby he appeared to riſe ſuperior to the indignity intended him by theſe invidious magiſtrates, to manifeſt himſelf to be no proper object of the ſervile and contemptuous puniſhment they had adjudged him to ſuffer, being neither a vagrant in the legal ſenſe of the word, nor in any ſenſe a diſorderly perſon. And therefore the ſhame and ignominy deſigned to him more properly reverted to theſe magiſtrates, who abuſed the power they were inveſted with to the oppreſſion of innocence, and the puniſhment of thoſe that did well.

After the execution he mounted his horſe, and was attended by the proper officers with the warrant and paſs to Sudbury, Clare, Haverill, and to the edge of Cambridgeſhire; the ſaid warrant and paſs all along reflecting diſgrace and diſguſt to the juſtices who ſigned them, it being a common and natural reflection with the people who ſaw him well-habited and well mounted, "This "young man doth not look like a *vagrant*." When he came to the laſt place the conſtable being employed in his neceſſary labour, looking upon the young man, upon the warrant, upon the unreaſonable burden impoſed upon himſelf by

by the caprice and malice of two diſtant juſtices, delivered him the warrant and paſs to convey himſelf whither ſoever he might think beſt. 1656.

Being thus ſet at liberty he returned, notwithſtanding the juſtices menaces, to finiſh his ſervice in thoſe parts, where he was interrupted by his being cauſeleſsly arreſted and puniſhed: the curioſity of the people being awakened by his late ſufferings, cauſed a great reſort to the meetings where he was, to ſee and hear the young man who was ſo cruelly whipped at Nayland.

Many were tenderly affected towards him, and many convinced of the truth of the doctrine he delivered. Thus by the over-ruling hand of divine providence the arbitrary meaſures purſued to prevent the growth of this people contributed to their encreaſe and eſtabliſhment.

H. Smith, S. Curtis.

Humphry Smith and Samuel Curtis riding together near Axminſter, were ſtopped, and carried before a juſtice, who, upon conſultation with a prieſt, ordered them to be whipt as vagrants, burnt their books and papers, took their money from them, and ſent them away with a paſs.

Joan Edmunds, wife of Edward Edmunds of Totneſs, was ſtopped on the road by a drunken fellow, who took away her horſe: ſhe complained to a juſtice of peace, being then about ten miles from home; but having no paſs, the arbitrary and officious juſtice ſent her to Exeter gaol, ordered her horſe to be ſold, and part of the money applied to defray the charge of carrying her to priſon. Her habitation being in the direct road to Exeter, they took her by another road ſix miles about, to prevent their injuſtice being expoſed amongſt her neighbours, who well knew ſhe was no vagrant.

George

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George Bewley, John Ellis and Humphry Sprague, after a meeting at Bridport in Dorſetſhire, were by the mayor and bailiffs cauſed to be whipt for vagabonds and ſent away with paſſes: George Bewley deſired liberty to go to the inn for his horſe and clothes, but was not ſuffered. When he had gone ſome miles from the town, the officer who conducted him gave him his liberty; whereupon he returned for his horſe and clothes, and the bailiffs cauſed him to be whipped again, and ſent away without them: he returned again, went to his inn, paid his hoſt, and was riding out of town on his horſe, when the bailiffs ordered him to be taken and whipped the third time. They then ſuffered him to depart with his horſe and clothes which they had unjuſtly detained without any colour of law, and cruelly tortured the owner for claiming his own property.

It was under this parliament that James Naylor ſuffered puniſhment by a moſt rigorous ſentence, moſt unmercifully executed. And although that extravagant conduct, which ſubjected him to thoſe ſufferings, was diſclaimed and cenſured by the generality of thoſe of his own perſuaſion; yet as ſome authors (Hume in particular) inſtance his caſe, almoſt ſingly, as a ſpecimen of Quakeriſm, it ſeems proper in this place to introduce a narrative of the principal occurrences of his life, whereby we may be enabled to form a ſounder judgement, how far his miſcarriage ought to be imputed to the body of the Quakers ſo called, or their principles.

Account of James Naylor.

James Naylor was born near Wakefield, of honeſt parents, his father was an huſbandman of good repute, having a competent eſtate to live upon after the manner of that country; about the

the age of twenty-two he married, and continued his reſidence near Wakefield till the civil war broke out in 1641. He then entered into the army, in which he continued eight or nine years, firſt under Lord Fairfax, and afterwards as quarter-maſter under major general Lambert, till being diſabled by ſickneſs, he returned home about 1649. As to his religious profeſſion, he was in ſociety with the Independents till the year 1651, when, being convinced by the miniſtry of G. Fox, as noticed before, he joined in community with the Quakers. He was a man of excellent natural parts, and had received a tolerable education in his native language, and wrote well. And being by his convincement turned to the meaſure of divine grace in his own heart, by a diligent attention thereto he grew in experience of the work of ſanctification, and received an excellent gift in the miniſtry; and while he kept in obedience to the dictates of this preſerving principle, he was eminently favoured in his miniſtry with divine power, and a convincing influence, reaching to the conſciences of his auditory, and awakening many to a clear ſight of the internal ſtate of their minds; of their miſery under the bondage of ſin, and to ardent deſires after redemption and ſanctification. By the ſame divine principle he was ſo preſerved in circumſpection of life as to confirm his doctrine by his example, ſhewing forth the fruits of the ſpirit out of a good converſation; exemplary in godlineſs, humility, and every chriſtian virtue; and inſtrumental, by divine grace, in turning many from darkneſs to light, and from the power of ſatan to the power of God. During the ſpace of three years, he continued

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tinued in near unity with his friends, and in juſt eſtimation amongſt them, for his works ſake. In the latter end of 1654, or beginning of 1655, he came to London, where he found a meeting of his friends already gathered, through the effectual miniſtry of Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill. Among them he preached in a manner ſo nervous and affecting, that he thereby captivated the affections of ſeveral of the more ſuperficial and unexperienced part of the auditory, ſo as to hold his perſon in admiration, and to prefer him much above his fellow-labourers, which was injurious to him, and tended to introduce diviſions, like thoſe the Apoſtle Paul reproves in the church of Corinth, when the *carnal walkers as men* were diſpoſed to pay that veneration to the reſpective Apoſtles, which belonged only to Chriſt, and to ſeparate into parties. Of theſe were ſome forward females of weak intellects, ſtrong paſſions, and flighty imaginations, who carried their impertinence ſo far as to oppoſe F. Howgill and E. Burrough, men of great worth, openly in their miniſtry, to the great diſturbance of the meetings. [d] For which diſorderly behaviour, meeting with merited reproof from theſe judicious and diſcerning men, who clearly perceived the tendency of theſe pernicious proceedings, they could not bear the rebuke with any patience; but one Martha Simmons, with another woman, carried their complaints to James Naylor, flattering themſelves, that as they were endeavouring to make him the head of a party, he would not heſitate to give his opinion in their favour, but herein their hope deceived them; for his judgment being as yet found

Comes to London.

Gains a party in London.

Martha Simmons complains to J. Naylor.

[d] Sewel.

found and unclouded, he thought it his duty to discourage their insinuations or complaints, as tending to sow discord between brethren. Her unexpected disappointment proving a trial too severe for this Martha's impatient spirit to sustain with any degree of moderation, she immediately vented her passion in doleful exclamation, lamentation and weeping; these passionate expressions of sorrow moved Naylor's commiseration, and left an impression on his mind, which resulted into a deep melancholy, under the effect whereof he became darkened and bewildered in his understanding and judgment; estranged from his best and most judicious friends, who were concerned to admonish him of his danger; and open to the pernicious flatteries and intoxicating praise of these unsettled spirits, which in his better days he would have heard with abhorrence and rebuke; by which means he gradually lost the brightness, beauty and humility, which formerly adorned his ministry and his conversation; became exalted above his sphere, and lifted up in spiritual pride to a lamentable degree. From London travelling westward to visit G. Fox in Launceston, he was in the summer of 1656, one of those before related to have been committed to Exeter jail, where he was a prisoner at the time of G. Fox's release, * who upon the

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At first rejected.

But afterwards her passionate sorrow makes an impression to the darkening his understanding.

* From thence we came through the countries to Exeter, where many friends were in prison, and among the rest James Naylor. For a little before the time that we were set at liberty James run out into imaginations, and a company with him; and they raised up a great darkness in the nation. And he came to Bristol, and made a disturbance there: and from thence he came to Launceston to see me, but was stopt by the way and imprisoned at Exeter. That night that we came to Exeter, I spake with James Naylor; for I saw he was out, and

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1656. Reproved by G. Fox, but ſlights his admonition.

the night of his arrival at that city viſited his friends in priſon there, and James Naylor in particular, to admoniſh him of the deluſion and danger he and his partiſans were fallen into; being impreſſed with a ſorrowful ſenſe of their error: but James being covered with darkneſs, and exalted in his imagination, ſlighted this admonition: for his ranting adherents ſet no bounds to the madneſs of their enormities; they proceeded from bad to worſe; from wildneſs to an exceſs of frenzy: in their letters to him, at this time, they addreſſed him with appellations not fit to be attributed to any mortal man, diametrically oppoſite to the avowed principles of the people called Quakers. Nor did their madneſs ſtop here, for three of theſe ſilly women, in this priſon, kneeled before him, and kiſſed his feet: after his releaſe, riding into Briſtol, one Thomas Woodcock went before him bareheaded, a woman led his horſe; and the three women before mentioned ſpread their handkerchiefs and ſcarfs before him, ſinging

and wrong, and ſo was his company. The next day, being the firſt day of the week, we went to the priſon, to viſit the priſoners, and had a meeting with them in the priſon; but James Naylor and ſome of them could not ſtay the meeting. The next day I ſpake to James Naylor again, and he ſlighted what I ſaid, and was dark, and much out; yet he would have come and kiſſed me; but I ſaid, "ſince he had turned "againſt the power of God, I could not receive his ſhew of "kindneſs;" ſo the Lord moved me to ſlight him, and ſet the power of God over him. So after I had been warring with the world, there was now a wicked ſpirit riſen up amongſt friends to war againſt. And when he came to London, his reſiſting the power of God in me, and the truth that was declared to him by me, became one of his greateſt burdens. G. Fox's journal, octavo, vol. I. p. 374.

ing in imitation of the Hoſanna before our Saviour riding into Jeruſalem. Here they were taken up, and carried before the magiſtrates, by whom being examined, they were committed to priſon. Upon ſearch, ſome of thoſe fooliſh and extravagant letters of his followers were found in his poſſeſſion, with others of a very different ſtrain from his former friends, reproving him for his inſtability and ſelf-exaltation; the former were divulged to aggravate his offence, the latter not anſwering any purpoſe of his *proſecutors* ſeem to have been ſuppreſſed. Not long after he was tranſmitted to London to be examined by the parliament, who judged theſe ſenſeleſs enormities of a few deluded individuals, little affecting the publick good, or the nation's ſafety, of ſufficient conſequence to engage their attention for ten days. Debates ran high, many of the members being very averſe to the ſeverity of the meaſures taken againſt him; but the majority (to whom J. Naylor's zeal in his writings and diſcourſes, reprehending ſelf-righteouſneſs and pretences to religion, deformed by immorality in life and converſation) had given offence, actuated by vindictive motives, to gratify private hatred under the colour of publick juſtice, on the 17th of December paſſed the following dreadful ſentence upon him †.

1656. Taken up at Briſtol and committed to priſon.

Sent to the parliament.

"That

† The trial of J. Naylor was publiſhed; but the extravagancy of the ſentence paſſed upon him, with other circumſtances, give great reaſon to ſuſpect the account was partially taken, and publiſhed to juſtify the cruelty thereof; ſome of his anſwers were innocent enough, ſome not clear; and ſome wreſted and aggravated by his adverſaries: and it is remarkable, that upon his appearing before the parliament, he was ordered not only to uncover his head, but alſo to kneel before them, when one of the heavieſt charges againſt him was that he

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1656.

His ſentence.

" That James Naylor be ſet on the pillory, " with his head in the pillory, in the palace-yard " Weſtminſter, during the ſpace of two hours on " Thurſday next, and be whipped by the hang- " man through the ſtreets from Weſtminſter to " the Old Exchange, London, and there like- " wiſe be ſet on the pillory, with his head in the " pillory, for the ſpace of two hours, between " the hours of eleven and one on Saturday next; " in each place wearing a paper containing an " inſcription of his crimes, and that at the Old " Exchange his tongue be bored through with " an hot iron, and that he be there alſo ſtig- " matized in the forehead with the letter B, " and that he be afterwards ſent to Briſtol, and " be conveyed into and through the ſaid city " on horſeback, with his face backward, and " there alſo publickly whipped the next market " day after he comes thither; and that from " thence he be committed to priſon, in Bride- " well, London, and there reſtrained from the " ſociety of all people, and there to labour " hard, till he ſhall be releaſed by parliament, " and during that time be debarred the uſe of " pen, ink and paper, and ſhall have no relief " but what he earns by his daily labour."

Reflections on the ſentence.

The proſecutions and puniſhments of the Star-chamber in the laſt reign, as being exorbitant and unreaſonably barbarous, excited general diſguſt and indignation; and the tyrannical proceedings

he barely ſuffered ſome to kneel to him, for it doth not appear that he required or expected any ſuch thing: when the Speaker Widderington was going to pronounce the ſentence, J. Naylor ſaid *he did not know his offence.* Towhich the Speaker replied, *he ſhould know his offence by his puniſhment.* After the ſentence, he ſeemed deſirous to have ſpoken ſomething, but was refuſed the liberty: he then juſt expreſt himſelf with a compoſed mind, *I pray God, he may not lay it to your charge.*

ceedings thereof occaſioned an almoſt univerſal outcry, particularly amongſt the puritans, and with very good reaſon; upon which account, when they found themſelves the majority in the long parliament, they juſtly aboliſhed this court, as an intolerable grievance. But here we find a freſh occaſion to remark upon the inconſiſtency of theſe puritans of the independent claſs, of whom, I imagine, the majority of this parliament was compoſed, for it was this party Oliver principally truſted and employed. The ſentence paſſed on this unhappy man, is for the greater part almoſt a copy of that by the aforeſaid infamous court paſſed upon * Leighton for his book called, *Zion's Plea againſt Prelacy*. And the poignant cenſure of a late hiſtorian on the latter, may with little impropriety be applied to the other alſo. "Notwithſtanding all that may be ſaid againſt the conduct of this unfortunate enthuſiaſt, his offence was by no means adequate to his puniſhment; his treatment and proſecution notoriouſly inhuman and illegal. The judgment paſſed againſt him was by an illegal court †, whoſe juriſdiction was unconſtitutional;—was directly contrary to the humane ſpirit of the Britiſh laws; and the ſingle inſtance of ſuch an execrable barbarity would have diſgraced the government of an abſolute monarch." CHAP. IX. 1656. Macaulay.

Many people [h] (not of the ſociety of Quakers) eſteeming the ſentence paſſed upon Naylor exorbitantly Petitions in his favour.

* For a comparative view of the ſimilarity of the two ſentences, ſee that paſſed upon Leighton in the above quoted author, viz. Macaulay, vol. II. p. 93.

† The Houſe of Commons by the conſtitution is no court of judicature, nor hath any power to inflict any other puniſhment than impriſonment during their ſeſſion.

[h] Sewel.

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orbitantly ſevere, for a crime proceeding more from a diſordered underſtanding than a malignant intention, actuated by the feelings of compaſſion for the man, of which his judges appeared diveſted, ſolicited the parliament with petitions in his favour, but to no purpoſe: for after the ſentence was paſſed, the Speaker was authorized to iſſue his warrants to the ſheriffs of London and Middleſex, the ſheriff of Briſtol, and the keeper of Bridewell, to ſee the judgment put in execution [a].

Execution of the firſt part of his ſentence.

And the very next day, viz. on the 18th of December, the firſt part was ſeverely executed; after ſtanding two hours in the pillory, he was ſtripped, and tortured with a moſt cruel whipping from Palace-yard to the Old Exchange, receiving three hundred and ten ſtripes; ſo that according to the teſtimony of Rebecca Travers, a woman of indiſputable veracity, who waſhed his wounds, in a certificate preſented to the parliament, and afterwards printed, "There was "not the ſpace of a man's nail free from ſtripes "and blood from his ſhoulders down to near "his waiſt, his right arm ſorely ſtriped, and "his hands ſo hurt with the cords, wherewith "he was tied, that they bled, and were greatly "ſwelled." This cruel torture Naylor endured with patience and quietude to the aſtoniſhment of the ſpectators. The 20th of the ſame month was the day appointed for the execution of the ſecond part of his ſentence; but he was reduced to ſuch a ſtate of weakneſs by the ſevere execution of the firſt part, that many perſons of note, compaſſionating his condition, interpoſed in his favour by petition to the parliament, and obtained

[a] Sewel.

obtained a reſpite of one week, during which interval a ſecond petition was preſented in the following terms.

1656.

Second petition.

" Your moderation and clemency in reſpiting " the puniſhment of James Naylor, in conſider- " ation of his illneſs of body, hath refreſhed the " hearts of many thouſands in theſe cities, al- " together unconcerned in his practice: where- " fore we moſt humbly beg your pardon, that " are conſtrained to appear before you in ſuch a " ſuit (not daring to do otherwiſe) that you " would remit the remaining part of your ſen- " tence againſt the ſaid J. Naylor, leaving him " to the Lord, and to ſuch goſpel remedies, as " he hath ſanctified; and we are perſuaded you " will find ſuch a courſe of love and forbearance " more effectual to reclaim, and will leave a " zeal of your love and tenderneſs upon our " ſpirits.

" And we ſhall pray, &c."

This petition, replete with good ſenſe and humanity, was preſented to the houſe by about an hundred perſons on behalf of the ſubſcribers, but the ſame vindictive temper, which had dictated the ſentence, reſiſting all ſolicitation for mitigating it, obliged theſe petitioners to endeavour, by an addreſs to the Protector, to obtain from him that favour, they could not obtain from the parliament; whereupon he wrote a letter to the houſe, which occaſioned ſome debate, but no reſolution in favour of the priſoner. Finding their interpoſition hitherto ineffectual, the petitioners preſented a ſecond addreſs to the Protector; but, it is ſaid, the publick preachers, by their influence, prevented its effect. However it is probable that theſe reiterated petitions

Rejected.

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1656. J. Naylor visited by five preachers.

of persons unconnected with the offender in religious community, conveyed a plain indication to his adversaries, that their severity was not generally well relished. Wherefore five of the noted publick preachers, *Caryl*, *Nye*, *Manton*, *Griffith* and *Reynolds*, by order of the parliament, (as it was said) visited J. Naylor in prison to treat with him concerning those offences for which he was detained, and bring him to a sense thereof, as if to varnish over the deformity of their proceedings with a colour of intending only the reformation of the man, by an *heterogeneous* mixture of ghostly counsel with corporal punishment, and inhuman severity with some semblance of christian charity; but this amiable virtue had little place in their publick or private transactions with him: for these men would admit no friend of his nor any other person into the room, although requested, upon which Naylor insisted that what passed should be put in writing, and a copy left with him or the jailer, to which, in order to draw such answers from him as they wanted, they consented. The reason of his making this demand, was an apprehension he had of an insidious design, as they would suffer no impartial person to be present at the conference to testify the truth if requisite, and the result seems to manifest his fears not groundless, for after some discourse, perceiving they were endeavouring to wrest words from him, to pervert to his crimination, in order to furnish some colour of justification to the publick, he remarked to them, "They had soon forgot the work "of the bishops, who were now treading the "same steps, seeking to ensnare the innocent." Whereupon they rose up in a rage, burned what they

they had written, and left him to undergo every jot and tittle of his unmerciful ſentence.

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At the expiration of his reſpite, on the 27th of December, the ſecond part of his ſentence was executed upon him [a]. There was one Robert Rich, a zealous partiſan of his, who mounting the pillory with him, held him by the hand, while he was branded in the forehead, and bored through the tongue, who being much affected with his ſufferings, licked his wounds in order to allay the pain. The ſpectators, who were very numerous, behaved with decency and quietneſs, without reviling or throwing any thing at him, ſeeming generally affected with commiſeration and regret at his unchriſtian treatment. He was afterwards ſent to Briſtol [m], and there whipped from the middle of Thomas-ſtreet, over the bridge up High-ſtreet and to the middle of Broad-ſtreet, all which he bore with aſtoniſhing patience, according to the teſtimony of an eye witneſs; thence he was ſent the back way to Newgate, and from thence returned to Bridewell, London, purſuant to his ſentence, and was there detained a priſoner about two years: During his confinement he was favoured with a clear ſight of his lamentable fall, and ſincere repentance on account thereof, and after his releaſe he publiſhed his recantation, the following extracts from which evince that he not only repented of his tranſgreſſion, but through the divine mercy was again reſtored to a lively feeling ſenſe of true religion, whereby he recovered his unity with his friends, and continued therein to the end of his days.

Execution of the ſecond part of his ſentence.

Sent to Briſtol, and whipped there.

"Condemned for ever be all thoſe falſe wor-
"ſhips [o], with which any have idolized my per-

J. Naylor's recantation.

[a] Sewel, p. 143. [m] Ibid. [o] Ibid.

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" ſon in the night of my temptation, when the
" power of darkneſs was above; all their caſt-
" ing of their clothes in the way, their bowings
" and ſingings, and all the reſt of thoſe wild
" actions, which did any ways tend to diſhonour
" the Lord, or draw the minds of any from the
" meaſure of Chriſt Jeſus in themſelves, to look
" at fleſh, which is as graſs, or to aſcribe to the
" viſible that which belongs to Chriſt Jeſus;
" all that I condemn, by which the pure name
" of the Lord hath been any ways blaſphemed
" through me, in the time of temptation; or the
" ſpirits grieved, that truly loved the Lord Jeſus,
" throughout the whole world, of what ſort
" ſoever. This offence I confeſs, which hath
" been ſorrow of heart, that the enemy of man's
" happineſs in Chriſt ſhould get this advantage
" in the night of my trial, to ſtir up wrath and
" offences in the creation of God; a thing the
" ſimplicity of my heart did not intend, the
" Lord knows; who in his endleſs love hath
" given me power over it, to condemn it; and
" alſo that letter which was ſent me to Exeter
" by John Stringer, when I was in priſon, with
" theſe words: Thy name ſhall be no more
" James Naylor, but Jeſus. This I judge to
" be written from the imaginations, and a fear
" ſtruck me when I firſt ſaw it, and ſo I put it
" in my pocket cloſe, not intending any ſhould
" ſee it; which they finding on me, ſpread it
" abroad, which the ſimplicity of my heart never
" owned. So this I deny alſo, that the name
" of Chriſt Jeſus was received inſtead of James
" Naylor, for that name is to the ſeed to all
" generations, and he that hath the ſon, hath
" the name, which is life and power, the ſalva-

" tion

" tion and the unction, into which name all the children of light are baptized. CHAP. IX.

" And all thoſe ranting wild ſpirits, which then gathered about me in that time of darkneſs; and all their wild actions and wicked words againſt the honour of God, and his pure ſpirit and people; I deny that bad ſpirit, the power and the works thereof; and as far as I gave advantage, through want of judgement, for that evil ſpirit in any to ariſe, I take ſhame to myſelf juſtly, having formerly had power over that ſpirit, in judgment and diſcerning, wherever it was; which darkneſs came over me through want of watchfulneſs, and obedience to the pure eye of God, and diligently minding the reproof of life, which condemns the adulterous ſpirit. So the adverſary got advantage, who ceaſes not to ſeek to devour; and being taken captive from the true light, I was walking in the night, where none can work, as a wandering bird fit for a prey. And if the Lord of all mercies had not reſcued me, I had periſhed, for I was as one appointed to death and deſtruction, and there was none could deliver me. And this I confeſs, that God may be juſtified in his judgment, and magnified in his mercies without end, who did not forſake his captive in the night, even when his ſpirit was daily provoked and grieved, but hath brought me forth to give glory to his name for ever. And it is in my heart to confeſs to God, and before men, my folly and offence in that day. Yet were there many things formed againſt me in that day, to take away my life, and bring ſcandal on the truth, of which I am not guilty 1656.

" at

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" at all; as that accuſation, as if I had commit-
" ted adultery with ſome of thoſe women, who
" came with us from Exeter priſon, and alſo
" thoſe who were with me at Briſtol, the night
" before I ſuffered there; of both which accu-
" ſations I am clear before God, who kept me
" in that day, both in thought and deed, as to
" all women, as a child, God is my record.
" And this I mention in particular (hearing of
" ſome who ſtill ceaſe not to reproach there-
" with God's truth and people) that the mouth
" of enmity might be ſhut from evil ſpeaking,
" though this toucheth not my conſcience."

Sundry other papers which he publiſhed during his impriſonment, and after, confirm the ſincerity of his repentance; and ſo deeply was the humbling ſenſe of his fall impreſt on his mind, that during the remainder of his life he was a man of great ſelf-denial, and very diffident and jealous of himſelf. At laſt, taking his departure from the city of London in the fall of 1660, in order to go home to his wife and family at Wakefield, he travelled on foot as far as Huntingdon, and was obſerved by a friend as he paſſed through the town in ſuch an awful, ſolemn frame, as beſpoke him a man redeemed from the earth, ſeeking a better country and inheritance. He went not many miles from Huntingdon before he was taken ill, being reported to have been robbed and left bound[p]; and being found in a field by a countryman toward evening, he was removed to a friend's houſe at Holm, not far from King's Rippon, where he was attended by Thomas Parnell, a phyſician of ſaid town, and not long after

Taken ill, and dies.

[p] J. Wyeth. Sewel, p. 159.

after departed this life in peace, about the ninth month (November), 1660, in the forty-fourth year of his age. The following expreſſions, uttered by him about two hours before his departure, evidence the peaceful and even tenor of his mind at that ſolemn period. CHAP. IX. 1656.

His dying expreſſions.

" There is a ſpirit which I feel, that delights " to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong, but " delights to endure all things, in hopes to enjoy " its own to the end: Its hope is to outlive all " wrath and contention, and to weary out all " exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a " nature contrary to itſelf. It ſees to the end of " all temptation: As it bears no evil in itſelf, ſo " it conceives none in thought to any other: If " it be betrayed it bears it; for its ground and " ſpring is the mercies and forgiveneſs of God: " Its crown is meekneſs, its life is everlaſting " love unfeigned, and takes its kingdom with " entreaty and not with contention, and keeps " it by lowlineſs of mind. In God alone it can " rejoice, though none elſe regard it, or can own " its life: It is conceived in ſorrow, and brought " forth without any to pity it; nor doth it mur- " mur at grief and oppreſſion. It never rejoiceth " but through ſufferings, for with the world's " joy it is murdered: I found it alone being " forſaken; I have fellowſhip therein with them " who lived in dens and deſolate places in the " earth, who through death obtained this reſur- " rection and eternal holy life."

Reflection.

There ſeems to be a pride and malignity in human nature while unreformed by religion, diametrically oppoſite to chriſtian charity, which, unconſcious of ſublime virtue in itſelf, and aiming to depreſs the reſt of mankind below its own level,

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level, delights to dwell on the dark ſide of characters, to magnify the failings of men, and draw a ſuſpicious ſhade over their virtues, or the mitigating circumſtances of their defects, and this malevolent diſpoſition receives new force from the ſpirit of party, which peculiarly characterized this age, and raged with unabated violence againſt the Quakers. So in this poor man's caſe, and that of the ſociety with which he had been connected, his failings were not only greatly exaggerated, but crimes imputed to him of which he appears entirely innocent; his enormities are overlooked by few who have given an account of him, his * repentance by moſt: That he was a Quaker (ſo called) is carefully preſerved from oblivion; that his extravagant conduct was diſapproved by the Quakers moſtly paſſed over unnoticed. The fall of one man in the hour of temptation, or the infirmity of another, recorded as a picture of Quakeriſm, without any regard to the far greater number of thoſe people, who evidenced the virtue and efficacy of the divine principle of light and grace they bore teſtimony to, by an undeviating obſervance of every chriſtian and moral virtue in their lives; and the ſolidity of their religion, and the purity of their conſciences, by the divine ſupport they felt, bearing up their ſpirits at the approach of the awful hour of death.

While

* There is a paſſage in a book, entitled, *A Complete Hiſtory of England*, vol. iii. p. 201, which aſſerts that *James Naylor died with no fruits, nor as much as ſigns of repentance:* How the author came by ſuch information we cannot tell; but that it is a manifeſt miſtake we doubt not but the impartial reader is by this time convinced.

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While ſome, to involve the body of the Quakers at large in the reproach of James Naylor's extravagancies, have paſſed over in ſilence their general diſapprobation thereof; others, on the contrary, becauſe Rich and a few more wrongheaded forward people took part with him throughout, with pleaſure obſerved, as they were willing to perſuade themſelves *, [a] the ſymptoms of

[a] Sewel, p. 143.

* Moſheim, who omits no occaſion of depreciating this people, diſcovers his accuſtomed partiality and unfriendly bias, in his ill-natured deſcription of theſe imputed diviſions. "Even during the life of their founder (ſays he) the Quakers, "notwithſtanding their extraordinary pretenſions to fraternal "charity and union, were frequently divided into parties, "and involved in conteſts and debates. Theſe debates, in- "deed, which were carried on in 1656, 1661, and 1683, "with peculiar warmth, were terminated in a ſhort time, and "without much difficulty." The dividing into parties, he mentions, in 1656, was no more than what is here repreſented, which how far it falls ſhort of his exaggerated deſcription is referred to the judgment of the diſpaſſionate reader. It gave no interruption, that I can diſcover, to the general ſubſiſtence of that fraternal charity and union at this time remarkable amongſt the members of this ſociety, not in pretenſion but in reality, being demonſtrated by facts, which are more indiſputable evidence than uncandid inſinuations or aſſertions What elſe but true brotherly affection, the eſſence of charity, could induce them to come from the remoteſt parts of the nation to viſit and adminiſter to their impriſoned friends? What elſe bring them on foot from the extremity of the North to London to ſolicit the protection and commiſeration of government in their favour? We have ſeen in more inſtances than one, ſome of theſe people offering up their bodies to lie in priſon, if thereby they might releaſe a friend, whoſe life or health was endangered by the hardſhips of impriſonment; we ſee theſe offices of brotherly kindneſs ſtill continue, and ſhall find them again hereafter. Are theſe extraordinary *pretenſions?* Are they not rather extraordinary *inſtances* of fraternal charity and union, to which the ſilly conduct of a very few

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of diſſention and diviſions among the members of this ſociety from whence their ſanguine wiſhes led them to propheſy the ſpeedy diſſolution thereof; but ſuch diviners found themſelves miſtaken in their conjectures and diſappointed in their wiſhes, on this as well as former occaſions; for the imprudence of a very ſmall number of the moſt unſteady and inſignificant members occaſioned no diviſion, properly ſpeaking, none of conſequence or long duration. George Fox, coming up from Exeter, after his releaſe from Launceſton jail, by Briſtol (where he had large meetings to good effect) to London about this time, ever vigilant *to guard the people he had been made inſtrumental to gather into a ſeparate ſociety*, againſt every danger, whereby they might ſuſtain harm, writ them a ſhort caution on this occaſion, to beware of that diſpoſition which hath a life in ſtrife and contention; to forbear mutual aggravation, which breeds confuſion, but to let their moderation, temperance and patience appear to all men, that they might enter into peace and covenant with their Creator, and preſerve their fellowſhip one with another: his care was exerciſed towards all, the weak eſpecially, to whom I apprehend this caution was addreſſed, for except a very few weak members the body at large took no part with James Naylor *.

This

few miſguided individuals gave no interruption. This author, in concluſion, ſeems to refute his preceding deſcription by an inexplicable inconſiſtency. "Theſe debates which were "carried on with peculiar warmth—were terminated in a "ſhort time, and without much difficulty."

* Upon Robert Barclay's opponent ſaying, "one thing I "would aſk, what he, Robert Barclay, thinketh of that honour "and

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This year died John Camm of Camm's-gill, in the barony of Kendal in Weſtmoreland, a man bleſſed with religious inclinations from his childhood, which gathered ſtrength as he approached the ſtate of maturity, whereby he was incited in a ſincere enquiry after true religion, and the moſt certain way to ſalvation, to ſeparate himſelf from the national worſhip of that time, and aſſociate with ſeveral others, who from a ſimilarity of impreſſion and purſuit, formed a ſelect aſſembly at Firbank chapel and other places, amongſt whom he ſometimes officiated as a miniſter.

Account of John Camm.

Convinced at Firbank chapel.

" and worſhip that was given to James Naylor, as he rode " into Briſtol, October 24th, 1656?"

Robert Barclay anſwers, " I think it was both wicked and " abominable, and ſo do the people called Quakers, who " thereupon diſowned him, and all thoſe that had an hand " in it, as by the ſeveral letters found written to him and " other papers, if need were, I could at large prove; but it " ſufficeth to inform the reader of this, that he was denied " by that people, and not any ways owned by them until " ſeveral years afterwards, that he teſtified his full repentance " for that thing in a publick aſſembly with many tears, ſignify- " ing the ſame alſo under his hand, which was alſo printed."

Robert Barclay's works, page 876.

James Naylor himſelf gives the following account: After I was put into the hole at bridewell, I heard of many wild actions done by a ſort of people who pretended that they owned me; and theſe were earneſtly ſtirred up at that day with much violence and many unſeemly actions, to go into the meetings of the people of the Lord, called Quakers, on purpoſe to hinder their peaceable meetings, and yet would take that holy and pure name of God and Chriſt frequently in their mouths, whereby the name of the Lord was much diſhonoured and his pure ſpirit grieved, and much diſorder they cauſed in many places of the nation, to the diſhonour of Chriſt Jeſus, for which I feel wrath from God; which when I underſtood that they had any ſtrength through me, I uſed all means I could to declare againſt that evil ſpirit, which under the name of God and Chriſt, was againſt God and Chriſt, his truth and people.

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niſter. Here it was that he, with the greater part of that congregation in the notable meeting which George Fox had there in 1652, by his effectual miniſtry, was happily prevailed with to turn the attention of his mind more cloſely to the meaſure and manifeſtation of the ſpirit, which he recommended, as a certain guide from darkneſs to light; in obedience whereunto he was made willing to take up the croſs to the glory and friendſhip of this world, in endeavours to ſecure an everlaſting inheritance in that which is to come. And abiding in patience the refining operation of this ſanctifying grace, he was fitly prepared for the reception of the gifts of the ſpirit, and had a ſhare in the miniſtry committed to him, more formed to reach the heart than pleaſe the ear, being weighty and deep, conveying awakening reproof to the libertine, the hypocrite, and ſuch as diſgraced the profeſſion of truth by a diſorderly converſation. In his moral conduct very circumſpect, exemplifying the doctrine he taught by the example he ſet. In the capacity of a parent he conſcientiouſly diſcharged his duty in a religious care over his children and family.

He was amongſt the firſt of theſe preachers who travelled into different parts of the nation to propagate the Goſpel, according to the principles of the people called Quakers, in which ſervice he was careful not to make the goſpel chargeable, having an eſtate of his own. His firſt journey was through the northern counties to the borders of Scotland; his next, in company with Francis Howgill, to viſit Oliver Cromwell, protector, on behalf of their brethren under perſecution. Afterwards he travelled in company with Ed. Burrough, through the middle

In company with Francis Howgill pays a viſit to Oliver Cromwell.

1656. Joins John Audland as his companion.

dle of the nation to London, where they met with their countrymen John Audland, Francis Howgill, Richard Hubberthorn, and others from other parts: From thence John Audland and he became fellow-travellers to Briſtol, where their united powerful miniſtry was effectual to the convincement and reformation of many hundreds, as before related in its place. But the fatigue and exerciſe of his travels and labour proved too great for his bodily ability to ſuſtain without feeling the natural effects thereof, for his conſtitution, naturally weak, was hereby reduced into a gradual decline; and as he drew near the termination of his well ſpent life, ſupported by the teſtimony of an approving heart, he viewed the awful ſcene without diſmay. His indiſpoſition being ſanctified to him by that word that ſanctified his ſoul, he was filled with a thankful ſenſe of divine goodneſs, under the impreſſion whereof he thus expreſſed his lively hope: "How great a benefit do I enjoy beyond "many, who have ſuch a large time of prepa- "ration for death, being daily dying that I "may live for ever with my God in that king- "dom which is unſpeakably full of glory. My "outward man daily waſtes and moulders "down, and draws towards his place and cen- "ter; but my inward man revives, and mounts "upwards towards its place and habitation in "heaven."

The morning he departed this life he called his wife, children and family, to whom he imparted ſolid inſtruction, to love and ſerve the Lord, and to walk circumſpectly in his fear, adding, that "his glaſs was run; the time of "his departure was come; he was to enter "into everlaſting joy and reſt;" charging them all

CHAP. IX. 1656. all "to be patient and content in his removal;" preſently after fainting, he ſeemed to paſs quietly away, as falling into an eaſy ſleep, whereupon ſome about him, weeping aloud, as one awakened out of ſleep, he expreſſed himſelf again in theſe words: "My dear hearts, you "have wronged me and diſturbed me, for I was "at ſweet reſt: You ſhould not ſo paſſionately "ſorrow for my departure: This houſe of clay "muſt go to its place, but this ſoul and ſpirit "is to be gathered up to the Lord, to live with "him for ever, where we ſhall meet with ever-"laſting joy." So again taking his leave of them, and repeating his charge, he lay down, and in a little time departed this life, in the fifty-ſecond year of his age.

CHAP. X.

George Fox applies to Oliver Cromwell to ſtop Perſecution.—Edward Burrough writes to him on the ſame Subject.—Attempt to make Cromwell King.—Articles relating to Religion.—Remarks.—The excluded Members admitted into Parliament, which is ſoon after diſſolved.—Fruitleſs Applications for Relief from Perſecution.—Edward Burrough's Propoſal to vindicate the Doctrines of the People called Quakers rejected.

CHAP. X. 1656. GEORGE Fox, near London, ſeeing a courſe of people, found they were gathered to ſee the protector paſſing by; and as the perſecution

cution of his friends continued unabated, he rode up to the coach ſide to ſpeak with him thereupon, continuing in diſcourſe with him on the ſubject till they came to James's park gate, and at parting, Cromwell deſired him to come to him at Whitehall: He accordingly went thither, accompanied by Edward Pyott, where they opened the ſubject more fully, acquainting him with the ſufferings of their brethren, and remonſtrating againſt perſecution, as entirely inconſiſtent with Chriſtianity, and a manifeſt deviation from the example of Chriſt and his apoſtles, who ſuffered perſecution, but never perſecuted any[a].

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G. Fox applies to O. Cromwell to ſtop the perſecution.

About the ſame time Edward Burrough alſo, finding his former applications ineffectual, reſumed his pen and wrote ſeveral epiſtles to Oliver on the ſame ſubject, with his uſual plainneſs. The following extracts whereof give us a ſpecimen of the honeſt ſimplicity and undiſguiſed plain dealing which theſe men uſed in their applications for redreſs, not (as falſely repreſented) in contempt of authority, but in conformity to the dictates of their conſciences, which taught them to decline every appearance of flattery and refinement in their addreſſes to the greateſt, as apprehending theſe things inconſiſtent with the ſimplicity and godly ſincerity recommended in the goſpel: Theſe extracts alſo exhibiting a lively deſcription of the ſufferings which this people at that time endured, are a confirmation of the narrative thereof, comprized in the preceding pages[b].

1657.

Ed. Burrough writes him on the ſame ſubject.

After reminding the Protector of the obligation he was under to the ſupreme being for his providential

[a] Sewel, p. 161. [b] Ibid. p. 163.

CHAP. X. 1657.

providential favours, both in proſpering his undertakings and preſerving him from the plots and treacherous deſigns of his enemies, he proceeds: "In that day when thou waſt raiſed "up, when the fear of the Lord was before "thy face, and thy heart was towards him, and "thou waſt but little in thine own eyes, it was "well with thee, and the Lord bleſſed thee; "and it was not once thought concerning thee, "that the hands of the ungodly would have "been ſtrengthened againſt the righteous under "thee, or that ſuch grievous and cruel burdens "and oppreſſions would ever have been laid "upon the juſt, and acted againſt them in thy "name and under thy dominion, as unrighteouſly have come to paſs in theſe three years. "Many are unjuſtly and woefully ſufferers, becauſe they cannot ſwear, though in all caſes "they ſpeak the truth, and obey Chriſt's commands; ſuch are puniſhed by unjuſt fines "impoſed upon them, and this by the corruptneſs of ſome that bear rule under thee, who "rule not for God as they ought, but invert "the ſword of juſtice. Some ſuffer long and "tedious impriſonments, and others cruel "ſtripes and abuſes, and danger of life many "times from wicked men, for reproving ſin "and crying againſt the abominations of the "times (which the ſcriptures teſtify againſt) in "ſtreets and other places. Some have been "taken up on the highway, ſent to priſon, and "no crime charged againſt them; and others "committed, being taken out of peaceable "meetings, whipped, and ſent to priſon, without tranſgreſſing any law, juſt or unjuſt, "through the rage and envy of ſuch who have "perverted judgment and juſtice; and ſome in "priſon

" priſon have ſuffered ſuperabundantly from
" the hands of the cruel jailers and their ſer-
" vants, by beatings and threatenings, and
" putting irons on them, and not ſuffering
" any of their friends to viſit them with neceſ-
" ſaries; and ſome have died in the priſons,
" whoſe lives were not dear to them, whoſe
" blood will be reckoned on account againſt
" thee in one day. Some have ſuffered hard
" cruelties, becauſe they could not reſpect per-
" ſons, and bow with hat or knee; and from
" theſe cruelties thou canſt not altogether be
" excuſed in the ſight of God, being inflicted
" in thy name and under thy power."

A copy of the letter from which this extract was taken was delivered into Oliver Cromwell's own hands; but not producing the deſired effect, he ſoon after waited upon him in perſon, to procure a conference with him upon the ſubject, in the courſe of which Cromwell told him in effect that all perſecution and cruelty were againſt his mind, and that he was not guilty of thoſe perſecutions carried on unjuſtly againſt Burrough's friends. The futility of this excuſe, too apparent to eſcape Burrough's penetration, drew from him the following remonſtrance[c]: " Con-
" ſider what is the cauſe, that what thou deſireſt
" not to be done is yet done: Is it not that
" thou mayeſt pleaſe men? that thou mayeſt do
" the falſe teachers of this nation and wicked
" men a pleaſure: Thou knoweſt of ſome in
" this city and elſewhere, whom we know to be
" juſt men, who ſuffer impriſonment and the
" loſs of their liberty, becauſe for conſcience
" ſake they cannot ſwear; and many others in

 " this

[c] Sewel, p. 165.

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"this nation ſuffering cruel treatment even for "well-doing, and not for evil, which oppreſſion "might be put a ſtop to, and their unjuſt ſuf- "ferings relieved by thee, by a word of thy "mouth or pen, ſhewing thy diſlike of theſe "cruel perſecutions; but there ſeems in thee "rather a favouring of them, by connivance at "the actors of cruelty, to the ſtrengthening of "their hands, than any diſlike ſhewn by thee, "in bearing witneſs, as thou oughteſt to do, "againſt them; and this makes that thou canſt "not be clear in the ſight of God in theſe "things, becauſe not helped by thee, when thou "haſt power to help them."

Theſe honeſt remonſtrances met the like reception with former applications; they were received without apparent reſentment, and perſecutions carried on without redreſs. Cromwell's attention about this period was engroſſed by a ſubject much nearer his heart than redreſſing the grievances of this ſociety. The ſupple parliament now ſitting, entirely devoted to his humour and to his intereſt, had complimented him with the offer of the crown and the title of king; and although it is thought to have been in conſequence of his own management, and his ambition prompted him to accept the offer, yet finding his neareſt friends and moſt powerful partiſans, together with the body of the army, averſe to the meaſure, deterred by the proſpect of the danger attending this advancement, after ſome perplexity and heſitation, he finally determined to reject the proffered crown.

Attempts to make Cromwell king.

The parliament upon this confirmed to him his dignity of protector, with an addition of more power, in ſome inſtances, than had been annexed to it by the council of officers, by a ſolemn

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ſolemn act, entitled "The humble petition and "advice," which after inveſting him with power to name his ſucceſſor, to convoke a yearly parliament compoſed of two houſes, and ſettling his revenue, concluded with the following articles relating to religion:

Articles relating to religion.

"That his highneſs would encourage a godly "miniſtry in theſe nations; and that ſuch as "do revile and diſturb them in the worſhip of "God, may be puniſhed according to law, and "where laws are defective, new ones to be "made: That the proteſtant chriſtian religion, "as it is contained in the Old and New Teſta-"ment, be aſſerted and held forth for the pub-"lic profeſſion of theſe nations, and no other; "and that a confeſſion of faith be agreed upon "and recommended to the people of theſe na-"tions; and none to be permitted by word or "writing to revile or reproach the ſaid confeſ-"ſion of faith [d]."

Remarks.

Theſe articles ſeem to betray little liberality of ſentiment concerning religious or civil liberty, and whether they originated from Cromwell himſelf or the parliament, give us a ſpecimen of the change of principles effected in men by the poſſeſſion of power, according to the concurrent accounts hiſtorians have given us of the independents and their principles: "The fanaticiſm "of the independents aboliſhed all eccleſiaſtical "government, diſdained all creeds and ſyſtems, "and rejected every ceremony. Of all chriſtian "ſects this was the firſt, which, during its proſpe-"rity as well as its adverſity, always adopted the "principle of toleration; and it is remarkable "that ſo reaſonable a doctrine owed its origin, "not to reaſoning, but to the height of extra-"vagance and fanaticiſm [h]."

 "The

[d] Rapin. [h] Hume.

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"The doctrine of toleration, in theſe enlightened ages, adopted by the liberal of almoſt all perſuaſions, owed its origin to the independents, whoſe declared averſion to perſecution and church tyranny was too oppoſite to the bigotry and views of the preſbyterians not to be productive of high conteſt and animoſity. Whilſt the preſbyterians exclaimed that toleration was but an indulgence for ſoul-murder, &c. the independents, from the authority of the goſpel and the dictates of reaſon, argued that every man had a right to direct his religious conſcience, and interpret the ſcriptures according to his own lights and apprehenſions; that the doctrine of intolerancy would equally juſtify all religious perſecutions, pagans againſt chriſtians, papiſts againſt proteſtants, with that which had been ſo lately endured from the power of the epiſcopacy; and that the preſbyterians, by preaching up the doctrine of obedience in ſpiritual matters to eſtabliſhed powers, paſſed a ſelf-condemnation on their own oppoſition to former tyrannies[o]."

Theſe ſentiments are laudable, and the reaſoning upon them juſt; but I think the firſt quoted author hath gone too far in aſſerting, that they always adopted the principle of toleration in proſperity as well as adverſity, except we underſtand it as a mere ſpeculative truth, for that they always adopted it in practice, matters of fact will not ſupport the aſſertion. And if their former principles are juſtly deſcribed by the fore-cited authors, it appears evidently, from the foregoing articles, that their *principles were changed with the times*. The firſt ſeems to be aimed directly at the Quakers, and the propoſal of

[o] Macaulay.

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of making new penal laws againſt them bears little marks of a tolerating ſpirit; the ſecond is expreſſed in terms of remarkable ambiguity, yet from this and the next we may gather thus much, that if formerly they diſdained all creeds and ſyſtems, they had now altered their ſentiments; ſince they propoſe the formation of a ſyſtem for the profeſſion of the nation, excluſive of all others, and a * confeſſion of faith ſo ſacredly inviolable, that both the freedom of ſpeech and the liberty of the preſs were to be violated in its favour.

I would not be underſtood by theſe occaſional remarks to tax the whole body of the independents with this inconſiſtency of conduct; but thoſe only, who in contradiction to their former profeſſions, when inveſted with power, perverted it to the perſecution of ſuch as diſſented from them, and thoſe who fomented the perſecution. There were doubtleſs very many, more ſincere in their profeſſion, and more uniform in their conduct, who were ſo far from promoting, that they

* Soon after this a confeſſion of faith, drawn up by ſeveral of the teachers at the Savoy, was publiſhed; and George Fox having previouſly procured a copy of it, notwithſtanding the parliamentary prohibition, he animadverted upon it with freedom, and publiſhed his remarks about the ſame time, the Church Faith, as they termed it, was publiſhed, which incenſed ſome of the members to that degree, that one of them threatened him, "That they muſt have him to "Smithfield." To which menace he replied, he was over their fires and feared them not, wiſhing him to conſider whether all people had been without a faith this one thouſand ſix hundred years, that the prieſts muſt now make them one; that as Chriſt Jeſus was the author of the apoſtles faith, of that of the primitive church and of the martyrs, ſhould not all people look unto him to be the author and finiſher of their faith, and not unto the prieſts?

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they ſecretly condemned theſe unneceſſary ſeverities, as hath been noticed in James Naylor's caſe and others. I wiſh the reader to apply this diſtinction to my future obſervations on this body of men, as I ſhall be under a neceſſity, in the ſequel, to lay open ſtill more exorbitant ſeverities, practiſed by arbitrary magiſtrates, who were inſtigated by vindictive teachers of this denomination, againſt the people called Quakers.

After all, we need not perhaps admire that the meaſures of this parliament were not favourable to liberty: Men who had given themſelves up to act by the nod or direction of another, having reſigned their own liberty, were not likely to have a tender regard for the liberties of other men.

1658. Excluded members re-admitted, whereupon the parliament is diſſolved.

In the next ſeſſion of this parliament, in purſuance of an article in the aforementioned inſtrument of government, the members who had been excluded by Oliver's council were admitted to take their ſeats in the houſe, which ſeems to have produced a majority leſs favourable to his views, and leſs pliant to his will than that of the former ſeſſions; and their proceedings diſpleaſing him, he ſoon put a ſtop thereto by diſſolving them [m].

Remark.

When we view this parliament, ſo much devoted to the Protector, and acting principally under his immediate influence, enacting laws ſo unfavourable to liberty, we can hardly exculpate him from encouraging, at leaſt by connivance, theſe perſecuting acts and ſevere proceedings, even while he declared himſelf againſt perſecution, and diſavowed the guilt of thoſe carried on againſt the Quakers.

[m] Rapin.

After

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[d] After the diſſolution of the parliament, different applications, by perſonal interviews and by letters, were made to the Protector by divers of this people in favour of their perſecuted brethren, laying before him a full narrative of their grievances, which, when he not only pleaded ignorance of, but pretended not to believe, two of them, Thomas Aldam, and Anthony Pearſon, to put the matter out of diſpute, undertook the laborious taſk of viſiting all or moſt of the jails in England, to prove by authentic documents the truth of their repreſentations; which having done, by procuring copies of their friends commitments under the hands of the reſpective jailers, they laid the ſame before Oliver Cromwell; but now, all ſubterfuge being taken away, he declined to comply with their requeſt in behalf of the ſufferers, which was to give order for their releaſe. It was upon this occaſion that Thomas Aldam, taking off his cap, tore it, ſaying, *ſo ſhall thy government be rent from thee and thy houſe.*

Applications of the Quakers for relief prove ineffectual.

[e] The public preachers at this time, both to palliate and promote perſecution and rigorous meaſures againſt the Quakers, ſo called, took great pains to repreſent them as a people deluded, deceived and involved in error; and particularly to Cromwell and others in authority: For which reaſon Edward Burrough, in a letter to the Protector, propoſed that theſe teachers might be directed, abſtracted from general reflections, and vague accuſations, to put their objections to the Quakers doctrines, and their imputed errors, in plain terms and clear propoſitions; and that by divine permiſſion they ſhould receive

Edward Burrough's propoſal to vindicate the Quakers doctrine, rejected.

[d] Sewel, 185. [e] Ibid. [f] Ibid.

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receive a ſuitable anſwer, concluding his letter to the following purport; "We are willing to "be made manifeſt to all men, and that our "principles may be brought to the teſt of true "judgment; when, if any objections againſt "us cannot be anſwered to the ſatisfaction of "ſober and unprejudiced men, our adverſaries "will be more juſtified in their cenſures and "their ſeverity againſt us. But if our anſwers "ſhall prove our principles, practices and doc-"trines agreeable to the ſcriptures, and vindi-"cated thereby, then let the truth be owned, "and no longer perſecuted: Let the teachers "and all our adverſaries refrain their contu-"melious aſperſions, uncharitable railings againſt "us, and falſe accuſations of us to thee: Let "thy ears be ſhut from believing lies againſt "the innocent; and let none in thy dominions "ſuffer under the cruelty of men, upon ſuch "groundleſs pretences."

This propoſal was fair and reaſonable, but we have no account that it was acceded to by Oliver or his teachers: The latter found it eaſier to rail than to reaſon; and their hatred of this people impelled them to endeavour the ſuppreſſing of them by rigour, rather than convincing them by argument. Perſecution continued unabated till Oliver Cromwell's death, which happened on the 3d of September this year. And being by the humble petition and advice empowered to nominate his ſucceſſor, he nominated his ſon Richard, who was accordingly proclaimed Protector of the Commonwealth.

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Applications continued to Richard Cromwell, but without Succeſs.—Friends violently abuſed by the Populace.—The Nation in great Commotion.—George Fox writes a Caution.—Account of Friends Sufferings preſented to the Parliament.—Remarkable Propoſal of a number of Friends to the Parliament.—The Quakers ſo called invited to take up Arms.—George Fox cautions againſt it.—General Monk's Order to his Soldiers not to moleſt the Meetings of this People.—Account of their ſuffering in Property, eſpecially for their Teſtimony againſt Tithes.—Specified in various Caſes.—Remarks upon Tithes, &c.

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1658. Applications continued to R. Cromwell,

THE ſame fraternal compaſſion for the hardſhips ſuſtained by their ſuffering brethren, which had animated ſeveral of this community to make repeated applications to the late Protector for redreſs of their grievances, continued to operate, and produced ſimilar applications to his ſucceſſor. Edward Burrough in particular, who (as before related) made repeated applications to the father with much plainneſs of ſpeech, was not backward, from a ſenſe of duty, and the impulſe of brotherly ſympathy, to take the like liberty with his ſucceſſor[g]. Very ſoon after his advancement to the Protectorate, he communicated

[g] Sewel, p. 189.

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cated by letter to Richard Cromwell, a clear and conciſe relation of the ſufferings and perſecutions his friends were afflicted with, putting him in mind that the power of the magiſtrate, by divine ordination, was for a terror and reſtraint to evil-doers, and the protection and praiſe of all that do well. But that at that time, in this nation, it was diverted from its original purpoſe to the oppreſſion of the poor, by injuſtice, ſubverting the good laws of God and man to a wrong end, abuſing authority, by turning the ſword againſt juſt men, and inflicting puniſhment on the innocent for righteouſneſs ſake.

but without ſucceſs.

This remonſtrance met with the ſame diſregard as the former applications for redreſs. The perſecution of the Quakers (ſo called) received no check in conſequence thereof, that I can find. But, as in this interval between Cromwell's death and the reſtoration of Charles the ſecond, through the ambitious ſtruggles, and the alternate ſucceſs or failure of the contending parties for the ſovereignty, the nation was almoſt in a ſtate of anarchy; groſs abuſes of the licentious rabble, inſtigated by the inflammatory calumnies of their prieſts againſt the Quakers (ſo called) were added to the ſeverity of perſecuting magiſtrates, who not confining themſelves to the abuſe of individuals, began to diſturb and attack theſe devoted people in their public aſſemblies for divine worſhip, in a ſhameful and riotous manner; of which we have many inſtances in this and the ſucceeding year*.

Friends greatly abuſed by the populace.

Many

Lancaſhire.

* At a meeting near Zanchy, where Elizabeth Leavens was preaching, a rude company, headed by an elder of their church,

Many of theſe abuſes being committed on the firſt day of the week, the day they called their CHAP. XI. 1658.

church, pulled her down and abuſed her much. As ſhe and others were going home, the people fell upon them and grievouſly beat ſeveral.

Rebecca Barnes, Elizabeth Holme and others, coming from a meeting near Ormſkirk, met with David Elliſon, a prieſt, to whom Rebecca ſpake ſome words which diſpleaſed him; the perſons who accompanied the prieſt fell to abuſing her, while he animated them, crying out, *down with her, down with her*, which his cruel comrades effectually performed, for they beat, bruiſed, and ſtruck her on the breaſt ſo cruelly, that within ſeven days after ſhe died. Beſſe, v. i. p. 304.

On the 7th of the month called June was a meeting at the houſe of William Mullins of Vine-ſtreet, Holborn, when one Atkins, bailiff to the Earl of Southampton, came to the window, ſwearing deſperately that *he would quake them*; and gathered a mob, whom he heated with ſtrong drink, until they threw dirt and ſtones in at the window, and ſhamefully abuſed many there aſſembled, he puſhing his ſword in at the window, and threatening to ſtrike his dagger into the preacher's face, calling him reproachful names, and belching out all manner of evil ſpeaking, till the meeting was ended. Beſſe, v. i. p. 365. London. 1658.

On the 7th of the month called April, this year, was a meeting at the houſe of Thomas Budd, in the pariſh of Martock, to which five prieſts came, attended by a rabble, furniſhed with ſtaves, cudgels, pitchforks, and ſuch like ruſtic arms. They ruſhed into the meeting with ſo much confuſion and noiſe, that the preacher could not be heard: Their coming made it indeed a riotous aſſembly, which the moment before was a congregation of grave and ſerious chriſtians, of ſober and virtuous converſation, and ſome of them of conſiderable eſtates: However, the prieſts who brought the mob, and cauſed the riot, complained to the magiſtrates that the meeting held at Thomas Budd's was a riotous aſſembly, to the diſturbance of the public peace; whereupon one Captain Raymond, with his ſoldiers, was ordered to diſperſe the next meeting that ſhould be held there: Accordingly he came thither on the 23d of the month, when Thomas Salthouſe was preaching, and took him, together with Thomas Budd, into Somerſetſhire. 1657.

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their ſabbath, with impunity, under a government, and by a people who pretended to make it

into cuſtody, and conducting them next day to Robert Hunt, juſtice of the peace, they were by him and others examined and committed to priſon, and indicted for a riot at the quarter ſeſſions at Ilcheſter: Great endeavours were uſed to find them and others taken with them guilty thereof, yet their attempts were fruſtrated by the concurring teſtimonies of the witneſſes produced againſt them; whereupon the juſtices tendered the oath of abjuration to Thomas Salthouſe, and for refuſing to take it fined him five pounds. Beſſe, v. i. p. 578, 582.

Cornwall. 1657. On the 27th of the month called June, this year, was a meeting in the borough of Liſkeard, where a multitude of rude people came in, hallooing, ſinging, railing, throwing dirt, ſtones, mire, and filthy excrements on the clothes, heads and faces of thoſe that were met, beating ſome with clubs, others with their fiſts, and breaking a pitcher about the head of George Bewley. One wicked fellow ſounded an hunting horn, and raiſed a cry of his hounds, to drown the voice of the preacher. They threw George Bewley and others down a ſteep hill on the pavement; and while they were pulling the hair off their heads, the prieſt, who ſat ſmoaking his pipe in a Chamber window, animated the rabble, crying, *Hold him faſt, keep him in, if his brains be knocked out, he has his own ſeeking.* This violence continued till ſome of the perſecuted were almoſt ſtrangled and ready to faint. At length ſome of them being let into an houſe, and ſecured from the inferior mob (for ſome of the mob were men of figure, and one a magiſtrate of the town) the tumult began to ceaſe. Beſſe, v. i. p. 115.

Hertfordſhire. 1658. With much barbarity did the rabble inſult this innocent people aſſembling at Sabridgeworth, ſtriking them as they came thither, throwing them off their horſes, and wallowing them in the mire, daubing their faces and clothes, filling their hats with dirt, and ſo putting them on their heads: When this cruelty could not deter them from meeting, a rude multitude ſurrounded the place, and aſſaulted them, breaking down the tiles, boards, windows and walls of the meeting-houſe, and throwing ſtones, dirt, rotten egs, human dung and urine, that few or none of the aſſembly eſcaped unhurt: They tore their clothes in pieces, laid ſome as dead,

it a point to obſerve it with all the phariſaical ſtrictneſs, and in many caſes beyond the ſtrictneſs

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as dead, ſorely bruiſed others, and thus continued abuſing them for the ſpace of three hours, the whole time of the meeting, and at their departure repeated the like abuſes, purſuing ſome of them with ſtones and dirt about two miles. Beſſe, vol. i. p. 241.

It was cuſtomary with the ſcholars at Cambridge, when any of this people paſſed the ſtreets to or from their meetings, to throw dirt and ſtones at them, to tear their clothes and ſpit in their faces. In their publick meetings the ſcholars inſulted them by breaking the windows, throwing great ſtones and ſhooting bullets in, to the hazard of their lives. When William Allen, who was frequently concerned to preach in thoſe meetings, was declaring, they would run through the meeting-houſe like wild horſes, throwing down all before them, hallooing, ſtamping and making a noiſe, as if ſeveral drums had been beating, to prevent his being heard: while he was ſpeaking, they threw ſtones at him, broke his head in ſeveral places, cut his face and bruiſed his body; he nevertheleſs perſiſted in his known duty undiſmayed. In like manner did they abuſe others of the aſſembly, pulling off the women's headclothes, and daubing their faces with filth and excrements. Some of the barbarities were acted in the ſight of the ſenior fellows and proctor of the college, who ſhewed no diſlike thereat; and when Alderman Nicholſon, a ſober and moderate man, grieved at ſuch inhumanity, complained to the proctor, deſiring him to uſe his authority to keep the ſcholars quiet, he churliſhly anſwered that *he could not, nor would not.* Do. 86.

Cambridge, 1658 and 1659.

On the 7th of November, this year, William Dewſberry, preaching at a meeting at Newark upon Trent, was inſulted and much abuſed by the people; however, the meeting was held, though through much diſturbance, and at the cloſe of it another meeting was appointed at the ſame place on the 11th of ſame month, being the firſt day of the week, at which while the teſtimony of truth was declaring, a rude multitude broke in, thruſting down both men and women, buffeting, punching and ſtoning them, ſo that ſome were knocked down, others had their teeth beaten out and their faces bruiſed; women had their head-clothes pulled off.

Nottinghamſhire, 1659.

After

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neſs which the moſaical law appointed for obſerving the ſeventh, furniſh an occaſion to reflect upon the irrational inconſiſtency of ſuperſtition in every ſhape, by which I underſtand an overzealous attachment to ſome circumſtantials of religion, while the eſſential part, viz. the inwardly ſanctifying power thereof, whereby we are taught to honour God, and love and do good to mankind, is overlooked. Theſe men, it's probable, would have thought it a heinous crime to have been employed on that day in any honeſt labour, though in itſelf lawful, and in ſome ſort neceſſary, and yet ſhewed no reluctance or compunction in committing unlawful actions,

After this manner they continued to abuſe about an hundred perſons who were there religiouſly aſſembled, and who bore all patiently as Chriſtian ſufferers. Beſſe, v. i. 552, 553.

Somerſetſhire, 1659. On the 22d of the month called March, this year, was a meeting at the market-croſs in Glaſtonbury, where Edward Burrough preached. Samuel Winney, prieſt of that pariſh, attended by ſome drunken fellows with a drum, came thither, and demanded *by what authority he came there to preach?* Edward anſwered in the ſcripture phraſe, *he that hath received a gift, let him miniſter according to the gift received.* He then returned the queſtion upon the prieſt, deſiring him *to prove his call to the miniſtry from ſcripture.* This pinched him, and he withdrew, leaving the rabble to plead his cauſe, who fell to beating their drum, whooping, hallooing and thruſting the friends to and fro in a wild and barbarous manner; and it was ſaid that one of the prieſt's agents had made many of the mob drunk on purpoſe to qualify them to perform ſuch wicked ſervice for the church. Do. 585.

Dorſetſhire, 1660. On the 17th of the month called May, a rabble raiſed by beat of drum came to the meeting at Broad Cerne, beſet the houſe, fired guns under the windows, beat thoſe that were met with poles and with their guns, ſtoned them through the ſtreets and hurt ſeveral of them, ſo that ſome ſpit blood a long time after, and others were ſorely bruiſed, narrowly eſcaping with their lives.

actions, as oppoſite to good government as to religion, in aſſaulting the perſons, and deſtroying the property of their inoffenſive, unreſiſting neighbours and fellow citizens, with violence and outrage, whoſe only crime was the applying the day to the beſt purpoſe, the aſſembling to worſhip their maker in that way they were perſuaded in their conſciences was moſt acceptable to him. The magiſtrates and teachers alſo could not only let ſuch riots paſs unpuniſhed and uncenſured, but too often abet them, and at the ſame time fine and confine ſeveral of theſe people as * ſabbath-breakers, for riding a few

1659.

* Such was the ſuperſtition of thoſe times, that many of the people called Quakers, going to religious meetings a few miles diſtant from their own dwellings, were taken up by officers under pretence of breaking the Sabbath, had their horſes impounded, and ſometimes detained for a penalty of ten ſhillings for travelling on that day; and at other times themſelves, for refuſing to pay that penalty, were ſet in the ſtocks. Beſſe, v. i. 75. Buckinghamſhire, 1658.

The religious zeal of this people in frequenting their aſſemblies for worſhip, obliged them to travel to the places where they were held, which being ſometimes at a conſiderable diſtance, their going to or coming from them on the firſt day of the week was called a breach of the Sabbath, and puniſhed by fines, diſtreſs of goods or impriſonment. For this cauſe, Samuel Skillingham and Zachary Child, going to a meeting at Weathersfield, were ſtopped by wardens in the ſtreet, and ſorely beaten and abuſed by a juſtice's clerk: and for the ſame cauſe Elizabeth Court was ſent to the houſe of correction, where ſhe was whipped and ſuffered much cruel uſage, being kept without candle or fire in the cold winter when ſhe was ſick of an ague. John Child, for riding to a meeting, had his horſe taken away and kept from him three weeks, and then returned home without bridle, ſaddle, pillion or cloth, all which they detained for a pretended forfeiture. Edmund Croſs, John Pike, Richard Waite and William Halley, were taken out of a meeting at Horſley and ſet in the ſtocks ſix Eſſex, 1656, 1659.

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a few miles to a meeting on that day: Proving their oſtentatious religion to be like that of the Phariſees,

ſix hours for coming thither on the Sabbath day, &c. &c. Beſſe, v. i. 193.

Somerſetſhire, 1657. George Taylor and his wife, riding on the firſt day of the week to Puddimore meeting, had one of their horſes taken away; and on the ſame day of the next week, paſſing thither again through Ilcheſter, had their mare taken away, with ſaddle, pillion and bridle. In like manner Chriſtopher Pittard's horſe was taken from him as he was riding to the ſame meeting: at which meeting, the juſtices Hunt and Cary being informed that Thomas Budd's wife was preſent, they granted their warrant for levying ten ſhillings upon her huſband's goods. About the ſame time, Chriſtopher Bacon of Sutton, going to Puddimore meeting, by the way went to viſit his friends in Ilcheſter jail, where he was taken by the watch; after three days detention there he was ſent to priſon, where he lay three months till the ſeſſions, at which he was fined five pounds for not taking off his hat, and recommitted. Beſſe, v. i. 582.

Cornwall, 1659. Anne Upcot, daughter to the prieſt of Anſtell, being convinced of the truth, ſeparated from the public worſhip, and teſtified againſt the vain converſation of the profeſſors of thoſe times: this incenſed her father and three brothers againſt her, ſo that they ſought occaſion to proſecute her, a peculiar inſtance of which is as follows, viz. on the firſt day of the week, as ſhe was putting on her clothes, ſhe found her waiſtcoat torn, and was mending it, when one of her ſiſters came into the room; ſhe acquainted her brother, who alſo was conſtable, he goes to a juſtice and gets a warrant to bring her before him, who ordered her to pay five ſhillings for Sabbath breaking, and authorized her brother either to levy the ſame upon her goods, or ſet her in the ſtocks. The ſpiteful brother took the rougher courſe, and put her in the ſtocks in a time of much rain, himſelf with his father and brothers being placed in a window hard by, and from thence jeering and ſcoffing at her, and encouraging the boys and other rabble to abuſe her, inſomuch that ſome of the neighbours wept to ſee their unnatural uſage of her; which cruelty of theirs affords this obſervation, that *men of ill morals may be extremely ſuperſtitious.*

Phariſees, who would ſtrain at a gnat and ſwallow a camel. CHAP. XI.

In this year the nation was in great commotion and fluctuation. Oliver Cromwell, notwithſtanding the authority he poſſeſſed, notwithſtanding his reputed political abilities, his penetration, his artful duplicity and addreſs, is ſaid to have felt himſelf greatly embarraſſed and perplexed near the cloſe of his time, to manage the different contending parties into which the nation was divided; but after he was removed, his ſucceſſor not inheriting his father's capacity, experience or diſſimulation, being a man rather of a tranquil and pacific diſpoſition, and more adapted to fill a private ſtation than to guide the helm of government, in theſe days of turbulence and confuſion, the different factions were upon the watch for ſome event or revolution favourable to their reſpective intereſts, and the repoſſeſſion of the ſupreme power, which Oliver had wreſted from them all. Party animoſities revived with additional heat. The officers of the army, the republicans and royaliſts, all caballing, plotting and waiting the favourable ſeaſon to promote a revolution in ſupport of their own power. George Fox, ſolicitouſly concerned for the preſervation of his friends in an honeſt, quiet and peaceable life, and fearful leſt any young or unexperienced people, who might ſometime come amongſt them, might be drawn into aſſociations with one or other of theſe parties, wrote an epiſtle of caution, wherein he admoniſhes his friends 'to live in love and 'peace with all men, to keep clear of all the com-'motions of the world, and not to intermeddle 'with the powers of the earth, but to let their 'converſation be in heaven, which is above

1659.

G. Fox writes a caution againſt joining in parties.

CHAP. XI. 1659.

'all the combuſtions of the earth, to let the 'innocence of their lives and circumſpection of 'their conduct manifeſt to all men the ſpirit of 'the goſpel of Chriſt; that whereas thoſe who 'ſpeak evil of them, beholding their chaſte con-'verſation coupled with fear, might glorify 'their Father which is in heaven.' And he thus remarks: "All that pretend to fight for "Chriſt are deceived, for his kingdom is not of "this world, therefore his ſervants do not fight. "All that pretend to fight for the goſpel are de-"ceived, for the goſpel is the power of God "unto ſalvation," and the diſtinguiſhing charac-'teriſtic thereof is peace on earth and good will 'towards men;' he ſeems to have the Millenarians or fifth-monarchy men in view [a], who by an abſurd combination of wild inconſiſtencies, had brought themſelves to a belief, that the time was come to erect a fifth monarchy, or the reign of Jeſus Chriſt upon earth, and that they were obliged in conſcience to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to promote it, even by force of arms, as if Chriſt wanted the aſſiſtance of weak mortals to effect his purpoſes or aſſert his rights: Or the Prince of Peace, who came to ſave men's lives and not deſtroy them, would eſtabliſh his kingdom by compulſion, violence and bloodſhed.

Account of Friends' ſufferings, preſented to the parliament.

Afterwards a printed account of their ſufferings was preſented to the parliament which this Protector convened, exhibiting a relation of above one hundred and forty then in priſon, and of one thouſand nine hundred who had ſuffered in the laſt ſix years, twenty-one of whom had died in priſon, generally by hardſhip or by violent abuſes [b]. But the unmerited prejudices of the age

[a] Rapin. [b] Sewel, p. 205.

age ran in a current ſo ſtrong againſt that people, as to bear down every ſentiment of compaſſion. Amongſt the different claſſes into whoſe hands the government fell, none could be prevailed upon to yield them effectual relief. CHAP. XI. 1659.

The principal officers in the army, who had been the chief inſtruments of promoting Richard's ſucceſſion to the Protectorate, had exerted their influence, principally from ſelf-intereſted views, in expectation, under the umbrage of his nominal power, to hold the reins of government in their own hands. But Richard, diſſatisfied with this ſhadow of power, took meaſures for poſſeſſing himſelf of the real authority, by an attempt to enlarge the number of the Privy Council, ſo as to introduce a majority of his own creatures, and to bring the army to a dependance on himſelf. Theſe meaſures rouſed the jealouſy of the officers, and the parliament now ſitting having alſo diſcovered a purpoſe to weaken their influence, they combined together to force Richard to diſſolve this parliament, and ſhortly after reſtored the ſupreme authority to the remnant of the long parliament, now reduced to about forty in number.

We have had ſundry occaſions to remark the brotherly affection and ſympathy abounding amongſt this people, manifeſted by a mutual concern for each other's welfare; and that while they ſeemed each regardleſs of his own liberty, they were ſtrenuous advocates for that of their brethren, zealouſly and almoſt inceſſantly in their ſeveral turns, repreſenting to thoſe ſucceſſively in authority the ſuffering caſes of their friends, either by word of mouth, in writing or in print. So upon this change of government, freſh application was made to this parliament for relief in

CHAP. XI. 1659.

a very extraordinary propoſal: A printed paper was preſented to them, ſubſcribed by one hundred and ſixty-four of this people, wherein (referring to the account of their ſufferings before preſented to the parliament) they offer themſelves freely perſon for perſon to lie in priſon inſtead of ſuch of their brethren as were under confinement, and might be in danger of loſing their lives from the length and extremity of their impriſonment as ſeveral of their brethren had done, whereby they demonſtrated the perfection of chriſtian charity amongſt themſelves, and left their oppreſſors without excuſe, although their offer was rejected with ſome marks of reſentment *.

Commotions

* I find in Macaulay's Hiſt. Ann. 1659, the following note: "Even ſo early as the commencement of the laſt parliament, when the bill for recognizing Richard was in debate, a petition in favour of a republic was preſented to the houſe by a formidable body of citizens; and after the army had declared themſelves, was ſeconded by another from the ſectaries called Quakers. This laſt petition was highly reſented, and the following angry anſwer returned; That the houſe had read the paper, and did diſlike the ſcandals thereby caſt upon magiſtracy and miniſtry; and did therefore order that the petitioners ſhould forthwith reſort to their reſpective habitations, and there apply themſelves to their callings, and ſubmit to the laws of the nation and the magiſtracy."—What I have to remark on this note is, that I apprehend a miſtake as to the purport of the petition preſented by the people called Quakers, ſo far as it conveys an idea of their petitioning for a republic or reſtoration of the long parliament. It was an eſtabliſhed principle with them to demean themſelves quietly and peaceably under that government which providence might permit to exerciſe the rule over them in their temporal concerns, reſerving to the divine Being what properly belonged to him, and in their eſtimation to him alone, the dominion over their conſciences. But (as far as I can

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Commotions ſtill continued in the nation. The royaliſts meditated a general inſurrection, and George Booth, in Cheſhire, riſing in arms in favour of the exiled monarch, the committee of ſafety invited the Quakers, ſo called, to take up arms, offering conſiderable poſts and commands to ſome of them: [c] But being very ſincere in their profeſſion of religion, and eſteeming war and violence inconſiſtent with pure chriſtianity; ſteady to thoſe principles they believed true, the proſpect of human honour and worldly advancement, had no place with them to turn them aſide from the undeviating purſuit of a point, in their view, of much higher importance, the endeavouring to ſecure to themſelves admiſſion in that kingdom which is higher than all the kingdoms of this world. Yet ſome unſettled and inconſiderate perſons who at times ſeemed to aſſociate with them, appearing inclined to comply with theſe

can diſcover) they attached themſelves to none of the political parties which at that time diſtempered the ſtate, having been treated with ſeverity by all in their turns; having made ſucceſſively ineffectual application for redreſs of their grievances, and met with nothing but rejection, indignities and contempt, they had no political reaſon for wiſhing well to any one of the preſent contending powers above the other, as all were their adverſaries. And it was with them a principle of religion to have no intermeddling with ſecular factions; for notwithſtanding the contemptuous light in which they were generally viewed and repreſented, they were undoubtedly actuated by as clear notions of the eſſence of chriſtianity and the ſpirit of the goſpel, as any other ſect at that time exiſting, in authority at leaſt, being thereby convinced that the kingdom of Chriſt was not of this world, and that of conſequence the ſtrugglers for worldly power were not eſtabliſhers of the kingdom of Chriſt, which was their principal aim. Ignorant as they are generally repreſented, they had the good ſenſe to diſcern the ſelfiſh views and partial politics of all theſe parties,

[c] George Fox's Journal.

CHAP. XI. 1660.

theſe propoſals, and take up arms under Lambert, George Fox found it his duty, by an epiſtle to caution them againſt it, and his concern for their preſervation had the deſired effect.

Edward Burrough, indefatigable in his endeavours to procure ſome relief for his brethren under ſuffering, wrote very copiouſly and plainly to the ſucceſſive governors of the nation; and in ſundry letters was concerned to tell them (particularly in one to the parliament now ſitting) that if they deſiſted not from perſecuting the innocent their power would be cut ſhort, which the event proved to be a true prediction.

During this time of anarchy, the meetings of this people being frequently diſturbed by the populace, as before remarked; and when General Monk marched up to London, ſome of the ſoldiers under his command having been guilty of ſuch

ties, under the diſguiſe of plauſible profeſſions, and that all were guilty of palpable errors:

Seditione, dolis, ſcelere atque libidine & Irâ
Iliacos intra muros peccatur; & extra.

In factious deeds, deceit or luſt or rage,
Republicans and royaliſts engage.

Under theſe circumſtances, I meet with no addreſſes of theirs to the ruling powers of this æra; but either plain and honeſt teſtimonies of individuals againſt their unrighteous application of the power in their hand, or remonſtrances in a collective capacity of their grievous ſufferings, and applications for relief: Of the latter ſort is the above, which I preſume is the petition mentioned in the note, which as it contained a full account of their grievous ſufferings under arbitrary magiſtrates, inſtigated by their vindictive teachers to treat them with illicit ſeverity, ſuch repreſentation of real fact being diſpleaſing to the parliament, as it was diſgraceful to their government, was by them termed (though indiſputable truth) a ſcandal caſt upon the magiſtracy and miniſtry.

ſuch diſturbance, a complaint was made to the general, which met with better ſucceſs than ſimilar applications to thoſe in authority before had generally done, as it produced the following order.

"*St. James's, March 9th*, 1659. General Monk's Order.

"I do require all officers and ſoldiers to for-
"bear to diſturb the peaceable meetings of the
"Quakers, they doing nothing prejudicial to
"the parliament or commonwealth of Eng-
"land[d].

"GEORGE MONK."

Beſides the perſonal injuries they ſuffered, to which I have hitherto chiefly confined myſelf, they were alſo expoſed to great ſpoil and depredations in their property, by unreaſonable fines and exorbitant diſtraints on divers accounts, and eſpecially for their conſcientious refuſal to pay tithes, and other eccleſiaſtical demands, which the preſent preachers (notwithſtanding their repreſenting them as a relict of Judaiſm, when in the poſſeſſion of the Epiſcopalians) being gotten into the poſſeſſion of, were as rigorous and ſevere in the exaction as their predeceſſors. Account of ſufferings in property.

To record all their ſufferings for their teſtimony againſt the propriety of theſe demands under the chriſtian diſpenſation would fill a large volume. The few following caſes will afford a ſufficient ſpecimen of patience under ſuffering, extravagant damage and tyrannical malice, in exacting unreaſonable demands.

In

[d] Sewel, p. 240.

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1660. Bedfordſhire. In the month called Auguſt, Elizabeth Bruce, a poor widow, was ſent to priſon for tithes of ſmall value, her houſe and garden being rented but at 6l. per annum, out of which ſhe ſupported herſelf and two fatherleſs children; ſhe was continued a long time in priſon. Beſſe, vol. i. p. 4.

Berkſhire, 1655. Leonard Cole, for refuſing to pay tithes, ſuffered ſix weeks impriſonment at Reading, and ſoon after his diſcharge, for a demand of 5s. had an horſe taken from him worth 4l.

1656. The aforeſaid Leonard Cole was impriſoned twelve weeks at Reading, and then removed by Habeas Corpus to the Fleet, London: While there, the prieſt his proſecutor, with bailiffs, made a ſeiſure of his corn and cattle to the value of near 100l. all for one year's tithe, for which the former occupier of the ſame farm told Cole he uſed to pay but 6l. Ditto, p. 11.

Durham and Northumberland, 1658. John Richmond ſuffered diſtreſs of his cattle to the value of 40l. for 8l. demanded for tithe. Ditto, p. 173.

Eſſex, 1659. For 50l. demanded, were taken from John Pollard of Steeple, corn, &c. to the value of 322l. Ditto, p. 19.

Glouceſterſhire, 1657. On the 9th of the month called July, Richard Attwood was committed to priſon for tithes, where, after a year's impriſonment, he died.

In the ſame month Edward Buden and William Beaſeley, for demands of tithe leſs than 20s. each, were ſent to jail and detained there above ſeventeen months. During their impriſonment the proſecutor took away three cows from the former and ſix from the latter of them.

William

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William Wooley was profecuted in the Exchequer for tithes of but 6d. value. Rachel Trueman was ſued in the Hundred Court, and for 10s. demanded for tithes had a cow taken from her worth 5l. 1658.

John Tyler of Frampton Cotterel, ſued by his pariſh prieſt for tithe of about 20s. value, was adjudged by the court to pay 10l. 10s. beſides 3l. 10s. coſts he had been put to. Beſſe, vol. i. p. 209.

Thomas Welſted, for a demand of 3l. for tithes, had his goods taken away to the value of 12l. 10s. And in this year ſeveral perſons for claims of 1l. 9s. 3d. for ſteeple-houſe rates, ſuffered diſtreſs of goods to the value of 11l. 12s. Hampſhire. 1659.

In this year were taken from Henry Streater, for 4l. demanded for tithes, three mares and two cows, worth 42l. Robert Biddle, for a demand of 16s. two horſes and two cows, worth 15l. 1660.

John Biſhop of Gatcomb in the Iſle of Wight, a poor labouring man, having a large family dependent on his labour, was impriſoned in Wincheſter gaol for tithes twenty weeks. Beſſe, 230.

In this year Elizabeth Maynard, a poor widow, for tithe of about 2s. value, had a cow taken from her by diſtreſs; alſo Richard North of Yardly, for tithe of an acre of wheat, had his houſe ranſacked by a bailiff, when only two little children were at home: He took away beſide his houſehold goods, the wearing apparel of himſelf and children, and the covering of their beds, for want of which they were much prejudiced in their health, the weather being cold. The bailiff had been heard to boaſt, *that now he had to do with the quakers, he ſhould grow rich*, but death Hertfordſhire. 1657.

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death deprived him of his expectation ſoon after. Beſſe, vol. i. p. 240.

1657. Huntingdonſhire.

On the 19th of the month called January, this year, Simon Sanford was proſecuted in the Exchequer for tithes under 5l. value, and committed to Huntingdon gaol, where he lay ſeventeen months, till diſcharged by order of a committee of parliament. Ditto, 261.

1657.

Kent. 1659.

Edward Noakes of Word near Sandwich, after he had ſuffered impriſonment at Canterbury, at the ſuit of Paul Pettit, an impropriator, for tithes, was removed to the upper bench at London. At the next aſſizes a judgment was obtained againſt him, and in the term following an execution, by which, for tithes valued by the jury at 20l. he ſuffered diſtreſs of cattle to the value of 99l. Moreover this poor man was kept priſoner in the upper bench above two years, in which time his wife died, and his family ſuffered much by his abſence. He was alſo ſued by the prieſt of the pariſh in the Exchequer for ſmall tithes at the ſame time. Ditto, 289, 290.

Leiceſter and Rutland. 1656.

Edward Muggleſton, after a proſecution in the Exchequer for tithes, was committed to priſon at Leiceſter. While he lay there his ſon was proſecuted for the ſame tithe, though known to be but a ſervant to his father.

1658.

Zachary Gilby of Thiſleton was impriſoned in Oakham jail by an attachment out of the Exchequer: He was confined there about ſixteen weeks amongſt felons in a cold naſty place. John Riddiſh was alſo impriſoned there, on an attachment, for tithe of ten groats value, he being a poor labouring man, and having a wife and five ſmall children. The woman in her diſtreſs applied

plied to the prieſt, his proſecutor, to intercede for his liberty, and took one of her little children with her, judging that might be a means of moving his compaſſion; but the prieſt, void of pity, thruſt them out of doors, and churliſhly told her *She might get her huſband out again how ſhe could.* Beſſe, vol. i. p. 331. 1658.

William Vincent, for a demand of only 4d. for tithes, was impriſoned in Northampton low jail, at the ſuit of Thomas Andrews, prieſt of Wellingborough, above a year, among felons, by whom he was much abuſed, being a very weakly man, and having above a dozen ſores about him, by which he was rendered almoſt unable to help himſelf, and obliged to go on crutches. His miſerable caſe was repreſented to the prieſt, who yet ſhewed no lenity towards him, but ſeemed to value the poor man's life at leſs than one groat. Ditto, p. 530. Northamptonſhire. 1658.

Margaret Parker of Aino on the hill, a poor widow, having three children, was impriſoned at Northampton ſeven and twenty months for tithes of corn and hay leſs than 13s. 4d. in value. This poor woman's ſufferings were grievous, being cloſe confined among murderers, thieves and whores, where her friends were not admitted to ſee her, otherwiſe than through the key-hole of the door. Beſſe, vol. i. p. 530. Northampton. 1659.

Arthur Goddard was arreſted for tithes at the ſuit of Richard Rogers, prieſt of Clopton, and after he had been ſix months in cuſtody, his proſecutor obtained a warrant from two juſtices to make diſtreſs for the ſame tithe, and took about four times the value. Hard was the caſe of John Cauſton, impriſoned in Ipſwich jail, in the coldeſt time of the winter, three months in an Suſſex. 1658.

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an open room, under a cruel keeper, where, through the extreme hardſhip he endured, he contracted a ſickneſs, of which he there died.

1658. In this year were taken for tithes,

	£.	s.	d.
1659. From William Driver of Tremlic, for 1l. 14s. demanded, goods worth - - -	12	—	—
From Thomas Pinſon of Ditto, for 14l. 1s. demanded, goods worth -	57	—	—
From William Burroughs of Great Fenborough, for 30l. 8s. 6d. demanded, goods worth - -	40	—	—
From Arthur Goddard of Clopton, for 3l. 10s. demanded, goods worth - - -	14	—	—
From Richard White of Mendleſham, for 4l. demanded, goods worth -	15	—	—
For 53l. 13s. 6d. Taken -	138	—	—

Lucy Oxe, widow, her ſon-in-law Chriſtopher Sharpe, and Lucy his wife, were caſt into Melton jail, at the ſuit of Francis Davis, prieſt of Clifford; though the ſon and daughter had no property in the land out of which the tithe was claimed, being only ſervants to their mother. Beſſe, vol. i. p. 666, 667.

1660. Remark on tithes.

It may be proper here to remark, that although at this day the people called Quakers are ſingle in their oppoſition againſt the legality of tithes under the goſpel, yet many others before them, and many contemporary with thoſe of the firſt generation as well as they, looked upon this relick of Judaiſm to be aboliſhed with the law which appointed them. That in the

pure

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1660.

pure ages of the church they were neither paid nor demanded. That they were re-eſtabliſhed among the numerous corruptions introduced in the darkneſs of a declining age, and wreſted from the people to the ſole uſe of the clergy, ſo called, by Romiſh craft and policy, and were by many of that age eſteemed a relick of popery, retained by a partial reformation, through the management of ſelf-intereſted prieſts and rulers, and looked upon as an intolerable grievance, to be aboliſhed in the progreſs of reformation to apoſtolical purity; the redreſſing whereof, with other grievances, the people were amuſed with the hopes of, by thoſe preachers and leaders who had inſtigated them to arms againſt the civil and eccleſiaſtical encroachments on their liberty and property: But they were only amuſed; for when their leaders attained their aim in reaching the pinnacle of power, they were more intent on keeping by policy a faſt hold of the reins of government, which they had ſeized by violence, than to redreſs the grievances of the ſubject. When the diſſenting teachers, by the revolutions of the ſtate, became the eſtabliſhment, and ſucceeded to the poſſeſſion of the eccleſiaſtical revenues of the epiſcopalians, they manifeſted the genuine ſpirit of the prieſthood, in ſecuring to themſelves the poſſeſſions and emoluments of the church, (ſo called) and oppoſing in a body every attempt to leſſen them, or make any alteration therein; being as tenacious of the power, the privileges, the incomes and the perquiſites of the ſacerdotal office, and as oppreſſive in exacting and recovering them from thoſe, who from a conſcientious ſcruple withheld them, as thoſe that went before

CHAP. XI. 1660.

before them; proving that prieſtcraft in all denominations is the ſame. And thus through all the revolutions of government, and all pretenſions of attempting a further and more perfect reformation, this anti-chriſtian yoke continues unremoved.

Other denominations, to evade ſuffering, gave up the conteſt; but the Quakers ſtill maintain their teſtimony in this caſe for primitive purity, and againſt Romiſh corruptions and uſurpations, from a conſcientious motive, and therefore rather chooſe to ſuffer ſome loſs of property than violate their conſciences by actively upholding a practice which they eſteem to be virtually forbidden by Chriſt, in his command to the firſt and beſt miniſters of the goſpel, from whom the following prieſthood have idly laid claim, by uninterrupted ſucceſſion to power they never thought of, and emoluments they neither poſſeſſed nor deſired: "Freely ye have received, "freely give," was the firſt and plaineſt ordination ſermon, which this people think amounts to a prohibition not only of tithes, but of ſtated and involuntary contributions for the ſupport of goſpel miniſters; and therefore it is an eſtabliſhed principle with them, not to pay tithe or any other fixed ſtipends either to their own miniſters or thoſe appointed by the ſtate.

Being now advanced to a remarkable period, wherein a thorough revolution in the government and ſtate of the nation took place, by the re-eſtabliſhment of monarchy and epiſcopacy, in conſequence of the reſtoration of Charles the ſecond to the throne, which was effected in the month called May this year; and having confined the narrative to England, as the principal ſcene

ſcene of action, it ſeems a proper time to look abroad, and relate the ſteps taken by ſundry members of this ſociety to propagate their doctrines, and the reception they met with in other parts during this period. CHAP. XI. 1660.

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WALES.

Morgan Floyd, Prieſt of Wrexham, ſends two of his Congregation to make Enquiry after the People called Quakers, when one of them, John Ap John, is convinced.—He is abuſed by a Prieſt, and impriſoned.—Thomas Holmes travels in Wales.—George Fox viſits Wales.—Is rudely treated at Brecknock.—Many convinced.—Sufferings of this People in this Principality.

IN the year 1653, while George Fox and his fellow-labourers were yet employing their miniſterial labours in the northern parts of England, divers reports going abroad concerning them, Morgan Floyd, prieſt of Wrexham in Denbighſhire, ſent two of his congregation into the north to make enquiry concerning this new ſect, who upon meeting and conferring with them, were ſo affected with the power attending their diſcourſe and their miniſtry, that they were both convinced of their principles, abode with them ſome CHAP. XII. 1653.

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1653. John-ap-John convinced.

ſome time and then returned home. One of them, named John Ap-John, retaining his integrity, in ſome time after received a gift in the miniſtry, and continued a faithful and ſerviceable member of the ſociety, and a ſharer with his brethren in the tribulations of that day.

Abuſed by a prieſt.

For in the year 1655[e], being in the public worſhip houſe at Swanzey, after the preacher had ended his ſermon, he aſked him, *whether he was a miniſter of Chriſt?* this queſtion gave great offence both to the prieſt to whom it was addreſſed, and another who was preſent; this latter gave way to his paſſion ſo far as inſtantly to ſeize John by the collar, and without ſuffering him to ſpeak another word, dragged him out and delivered him to a conſtable, who confined him that night in a cloſe dark priſon[f]. Next day he was brought before the magiſtrates, whom theſe prieſts endeavoured to incite to perſecution, as too uſual, by deſiring in their blind zeal, *to have him whipped, that the devil might come out of him:* and as often as he attempted to ſpeak, one or other of the prieſts would ſtrike him and ſtop his mouth with their hands. At

Impriſoned.

length he was ſent to priſon under a general charge of miſbehaviour, no particular cauſe of impriſonment being ſpecified in the mittimus, the fact being in no wiſe criminal, nor liable to the penalty of any law; but the juſtice, to gratify the prieſts, ſtretched his power beyond the letter of the law, to oppreſs an harmleſs man, of which arbitrary rule our hiſtory furniſhes not a few inſtances.

In

[e] Beſſe, vol. i. p. 735. [f] Beſſe,

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In 1654, Thomas Holmes travelled into Wales, being reputed to be the firſt miniſter among the people called Quakers that preached in that principality; of his ſervice I do not meet with very particular accounts, yet there is reaſon to believe it was effectual to the convincement of ſeveral, as in the year 1656 I find that from ſeven perſons of this ſociety in Glamorganſhire, for 8l. 10s. 6d. demanded for tithes, their goods were taken by diſtreſs to the amount of 28l. 8s. And from nine in Radnorſhire for 4l. 3s. 4d. demanded, to the amount of 23l. 6s. 8d. was taken.

1654. Thomas Holmes travels into Wales.

In the forepart of 1657, George Fox firſt viſited ſome parts of Wales: From Briſtol coming to Cardiff, a juſtice of peace ſent him a meſſage, deſiring, "he with half a dozen of his friends would come to his houſe;" accordingly he went, accompanied by a few of his friends, and met with a courteous reception from the juſtice and his wife. [g] The next day he had a meeting there, which notwithſtanding ſome attempts of diſturbance, was held to good ſatisfaction, and many were convinced of the truth of the doctrines he publiſhed that day.

G. Fox viſits Wales. 1657.

At Swanzey alſo his labour was bleſſed with remarkable ſucceſs, and a ſettled meeting of this ſociety eſtabliſhed there. At Brecknock he met with rude treatment, and apprehenſion of danger from the populace, raiſed and ſtimulated to riot and tumult by the magiſtrates. Next morning he wrote a paper to the town, to point out their unchriſtian-like behaviour, and how contrary it was to true religion and virtue.

Swanzey.

At Brecknock rudely treated.

From hence he went to a great meeting in a ſteeple-houſe yard, to which many people came,

[g] George Fox's journal.

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1657.

Many convinced.

and amongſt the reſt Walter Jenkin, who had been a juſtice, accompanied by another juſtice: his miniſtry here was effectual to the convincement of many: after the meeting, he went with Walter Jenkin to the aforeſaid juſtice's houſe, who expreſſed his approbation of his ſervice, ſaying, "you have this day given great ſatis-"faction to the people, and anſwered all the "objections that were in their minds."

Pontemoil.

He next proceeded to Pontemoil, had a great meeting there, which ſeveral people of account attended, and ſo many were there convinced, that a large meeting was gathered and eſtabliſhed in theſe parts. From hence he returned to England.

Sufferings.

As to the ſufferings and perſecutions of this people in Wales, as their numbers were not very large during this period, their ſufferings were leſs multiplied, yet chiefly through the inſtigation of prieſts, they bore a ſhare of the afflictions of their brethren, in impriſonments, in perſonal abuſe, in the diſturbance of their meetings, and diſtreſſes for tithes, and thoſe called church-rates, and although ſome of them were remarkable and ſevere enough, particularly the ſufferings of John-ap-John and Elizabeth Holmes, yet to avoid prolixity on a ſubject every where ſupplying abundant matter for reflection, I paſs on to

SCOTLAND.

First meetings of this people in Scotland.

THE earlieſt meetings of the people called Quakers in Scotland were held about the year 1653; when ſeveral ſerious enquirers into the nature of true religion, and the purity and ſpirituality

rituality of goſpel-worſhip, burdened with the formality, ſuperſtition and will-worſhip, under which the national preachers laboured to keep their hearers in bondage, began to ſeparate from the publick aſſemblies, and to meet together by themſelves to wait upon God in ſilence, and to worſhip him, who is a ſpirit, in ſpirit and in truth. As they were thus exerciſed in an holy ſilence, and awful humility of ſoul, they came to experience the quickening virtue, power and influence, of the holy ſpirit of God, enabling ſome of them to ſpeak forth his praiſe, and from a ſenſe of his goodneſs to become inſtrumental for the edification of others in the faith. The firſt natives of this country, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves as preachers among this people, were William Oſborne, Richard Ree, and Alexander Hamilton: This Alexander Hamilton, with his wife and ſiſter, had been members of a church or ſociety of independents, whereof one Thomas Chartres was the paſtor or teacher. Their departure from the church was regretted by the reſt of the ſociety, they being perſons eſteemed for their regular life and religious deportment, and Chartres would willingly have induced them to come again and ſit under his teachings, but finding all his endeavours to that purpoſe ineffectual, he at length threatened them with excommunication, and appointed a day for paſſing that ſentence, giving the ſaid Alexander Hamilton previous notice thereof. Hamilton warned him *to forbear, leſt the anger of the Lord ſhould be provoked againſt him.* This caution Chartres regarded not, but anſwered, *it is but* Alexander Hamilton *that ſays ſo*: To which Hamilton, in the preſence of many witneſſes, replied, that *it was not only he, but what he had ſaid, was of*

1653.

First preachers in Scotland.

A remarkable paſſage reſpecting A. Hamilton.

CHAP. XII. 1654.

the Lord. But Chartres perſiſted in his reſolution, which yet he was prevented from putting into execution, in a remarkable manner, whether providentially, or accidentally, we leave to our readers judgment, and ſhall only relate the matter of fact, being as follows, viz. About two days before the time he had fixed for pronouncing the ſentence of excommunication againſt the ſaid perſons, as he was walking in the ſteeple-houſe yard, where his horſe was grazing, he ſtept to him to ſtroke him, when the horſe gave him ſuch a violent kick on the ſide as proved mortal, and occaſioned his death about the ſame time in which he had purpoſed to paſs the ſaid ſentence. By this means his deſign was fruſtrated, and *the curſe cauſeleſs* did *not come*. Prov. xxvi. 2.

Engliſh preachers travel into Scotland.

Some of the firſt of this people from England, who travelled into Scotland, were Chriſtopher Fell, George Wilſon, John Grave, Sarah Chevers, and Katharine Evans; alſo Miles Halhead and James Lancaſter, who in the year 1654, being at Dumfries, and Miles, after the prieſt had ended his cuſtomary performance in the ſteeple-houſe there, teſtifying againſt the deceit and hypocriſy of the people, they were ſo enraged, that they forced him and his companion out of the town to the ſide of a great river, intending there to have ſtoned them, but they by wading through the river, eſcaped their hands. After which they were at Edinburgh and Leith about ten days, where Miles delivered to the officers and captains of the army and garriſons his meſſage, which was, that *the anger of the Lord was kindled againſt them, becauſe they had not performed their promiſes, which they made to him in the day of their diſtreſs, when the enemies compaſſed*

compaſſed them on every ſide, for then the Lord delivered them and gave them the victory, but they had returned him evil for good, and committed violence againſt thoſe he had ſent to declare his word amongſt them. Having performed his duty in this reſpect, they went to Glaſgow and Sterling, and then returned to England. CHAP XII. 1655.

Anno 1655. William Caton and John Stubbs viſited their bretliren in Scotland, adminiſtering ſuch counſel, as in their low condition at that time, tended to their edification. John Stubbs returning to England, W. Caton went to Sterling, where he was taken and carried before the governor, who at firſt accoſted him in a rough and angry manner, but William being of a meek and chriſtian temper, by his ſoft anſwers appeaſed his wrath, ſo that he became cool and ſedate. He was alſo at Glaſgow, and went into the great cathedral there, where after their worſhip was ended, he had an opportunity of ſpeaking to the people in the yard, the Engliſh ſoldiers, in garriſon there, not permitting any injury to be done to him. At Douglas he publiſhed the truth without much oppoſition. W. Caton and J. Stubbs.

In October 1657, George Fox was at Edinburgh, where he was ſummoned to appear before the council, who ſent an officer to his inn, with the following order, viz. G. Fox. 1657.

" Tueſday, the 8th of October 1657, at his
" Highneſs's council in Scotland.

" Ordered, that George Fox do appear before " the council on Tueſday the 15th of October " next, in the forenoon. Order of council.

" E. DOWNING, clerk of the council."

He appeared accordingly, and after examination, they told him that *he muſt depart the nation of Scotland by that day ſevennight.* Nevertheleſs he

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he continued travelling up and down through ſeveral parts of that country, preaching among the people whereſoever he came, and afterwards returned to Edinburgh, where he was told, that *the council had iſſued warrants to apprehend him for breach of their order, in not departing the country within the limited time.* To which his anſwer was, *what do ye tell me of their warrants? If there were a cart-load of them I do not heed them.* For he, *knowing his commiſſion to be from God*, was carried above the fear of man in diſcharging it; and a peculiar hand of Providence was ſometimes viſible in the manner of his deliverance.

1657.

G. Fox's courageous anſwer.

ISLE OF MAN.

1656. THE magiſtrates of this iſland being early prepoſſeſſed with prejudice againſt the Quakers (ſo called) and their doctrine, by the miſrepreſentations of the preachers of thoſe times, whoſe intereſt it militated againſt, made laws againſt them at their firſt arrival there[c], one of which was for baniſhing all of that perſuaſion, whether natives or others; accordingly Catharine Evans was taken out of her bed by night, and ſent away. James Lancaſter was alſo expelled the iſland for no other reaſon than his going under the name of a Quaker. Peter Coſnock, his ſon, and ſeveral others were impriſoned at Caſtlepeel, by order of William Chriſten, a magiſtrate there, from thence they were removed to Douglas, and baniſhed. They applied to the Lord Fairfax for leave to return, but he would not grant it, though ſome of them were born there. At length, upon application to the parliament, ſuch as were inhabitants of the place were permitted to return to their habitations.

William

[c] Beſſe, vol. i. p. 269.

CHAP. XII. 1657.

William Callow was detained eight weeks in priſon for reproving a prieſt, whom he had heard abuſing the people called Quakers in his ſermon to the people. Several perſons were taken out of a meeting on the firſt day of the week, and ſet in the ſtocks four hours in the market place; others were fined, of whom were William Callow, John Chriſten and Evan Keruſh; from the two former were taken ten buſhels of oats by diſtreſs, which were laid in * William Chriſten's barn. On the next firſt day after ſermon the prieſt gave public notice for the poor of the pariſh to go to the barn and take ſome corn, which the governor had ordered to be diſtributed amongſt them; ſome of the poor people, his own hearers, anſwered, "That "it had been more charity to have given his "own goods to the poor than other men's, and "that they would receive none of it." However, ſome of the poor went to the place with the prieſt and ſoldiers, and William Callow went alſo. The prieſt called to the poor ſeveral times to hold their bags, but none of them would; at this the prieſt grew angry, and looking ſternly at William Callow, called to the people, "Why don't you take the corn? Is "there any one here that hath aught to do with "this corn, or ſaith it may not be given to the "poor;" this he ſaid to provoke from William ſome expreſſion, but he held his peace. The poor ſtood ſtill a while, and then withdrew one by one, leaving the corn with the prieſt and ſoldiers. On the following firſt day the parſon again publiſhed the diſtribution of the corn as before,

* This William Chriſten was a deputy under Lord Fairfax, but falling afterwards under his diſpleaſure for ſome miſdemeanour, he was ſhot to death on the iſland. In his laſt ſpeech he mentioned with much regret his evil treatment of the Quakers.

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before, ſignifying how much the governor was diſpleaſed that they had not taken it. For fear of the governor and the prieſt, ſome poor people

1657. went again to the place, but only one of them would take any, and he vauntingly ſaid to the reſt, "you are ſo proud you will not take it: I "have got this, and there will be more of his "goods taken before this be eaten, and then "I'll get more;" but it happened, that before he had eaten what he took, he was taken away by death. His ſudden exit was interpreted by the other poor as a judgment upon him, and they were glad that they had kept themſelves clear. The reſt of the corn lay till it was ſpoiled, for nobody would take it. From this inſtance we may juſtly obſerve, that the innocence and patience of ſufferers in the cauſe of religion, carries with it a force of conviction on the conſciences of the people, which the arts of deſigning and intereſted men cannot eaſily eradicate.

1659. William Callow and ſeveral others for 2d. each demanded by the prieſt for bread and wine, of which they had received none, were impriſoned by a warrant from † James Challoner the governor, from whom alſo in September this year the prieſt procured another warrant for the impriſonment of William Callow and Evan Chriſten, for refuſing to pay tithes. One morning early, as ſoon as they came on ſhore, after being all night in the wet and cold at ſea, (for they were fiſhermen) they were hurried to priſon

† This James Challoner had been a member of the long parliament, and after the King's return had been ſent for to London, in order, as was thought, to be tried among the regicides. The day he was to go he took ſomething under pretext of phyſick, which killed him in a ſhort time. He had been a violent perſecutor, and was heard to ſay, a little before his death, that *he would quickly rid the iſland of Quakers,*

ſon in their wet clothes, and detained ſeveral days in the midſt of their herring fiſhery, the moſt advantageous ſeaſon for their buſineſs. This, however deſigned by their adverſary, was not productive of the prejudice which might be naturally expected, for the next night after their releaſe they caught as many fiſh as they were able to bring to ſhore, ſo that they had reaſon gratefully *to acknowledge a peculiar providence attending them.*

CHAP.

IRELAND.

CHAP. XIII.

William Edmundſon the firſt of the People called Quakers in Ireland.—Account of him.—Importuned to ſettle in Dublin, but removes from thence to Antrim.—Going to the North of England hears James Naylor preach, whereby he is fully convinced.—Refuſes to ſwear.—Miles Halhead, Miles Bateman and James Lancaſter viſit Ireland.—William Edmundſon removes to Lurgan, and ſettles a Meeting there.—Receives a Gift in the Miniſtry.—John Tiffin comes over from England, William Edmundſon accompanies him to Belfaſt.—Richard Clayton and William Edmundſon travel on foot.—Are refuſed Entertainment at Coleraine.—Several convinced near Kilmore.—Several Friends from England viſit Ireland.—Firſt Meeting in Dublin.—Many convinced.—At Limerick Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill aſſaulted, and put out of the Gate.—Taken Priſoners at Cork, and ſent under a Guard to Dublin, and baniſhed.—Edward Burrough's Remonſtrance againſt their Treatment.—Barbara Blaugdon's Interview with the Lord Deputy.—William Edmundſon quits Shop-keeping.—Removes to the County of Cavan, and ſettles a Meeting there.—Removes thence to Queen's County, and ſettles a Meeting at Mountmelick.—Barbara Blaugdon impriſoned.—William Edmundſon ſet in the Stocks at Belturbet.

W. Edmundſon the firſt of the Quakers in Ireland.

THE firſt of the people called quakers in Ireland was William Edmundſon, who came over in the way of trade; and being ſoon after convinced

vinced of the truth of the principles of this people, and adhering to them, was inſtrumental to the convincement of ſome others, before any of their miniſters came over from England; and as he fixed his reſidence in that kingdom, and became a very reputable member and miniſter in this ſociety there, it ſeems proper to open this part of the hiſtory with an account of him.

Account of W. Edmundſon.

He was born at little Muſgrove in Weſtmoreland, in the year 1627, and in his early minority was often ſeriouſly affected with conſideration about a future ſtate; and as his age and faculties advanced towards maturity, his deſires after everlaſting felicity encreaſed in proportion. [a] About the year 1650 he entered into the parliament's army, but continued in it only for a ſhort ſeaſon, for during the campaign in Scotland under Oliver Cromwell, the ſubject which had before cloſely exerciſed the attention of his thoughts (i. e. the ſalvation of his ſoul) fixing more deeply in his mind, he ſoon grew weary of the military life, and laid down his arms, in order to be more at liberty to engage in the ſpiritual warfare. In the year 1651 he returned from Scotland into England, and was quartered in Derbyſhire; which being about the time of George Fox's releaſe from Derby jail, he, and the people who had there lately received the denomination of Quakers, were become a general topick of converſation, and variety of reports were propagated concerning them, ſome in their favour, and many to their diſadvantage: Upon the compariſon, William, before he knew them, found his heart inclined to the favourable ſide.

About

[a] William Edmundſon's journal, p. 1.

CHAP. XIII. 1651.

About this time he entered into the married ſtate, and quitted the army with a purpoſe to ſettle in Derbyſhire; but at the perſuaſion of his brother John, who was then a ſoldier in Ireland, and come over to ſee his relations in England, he removed into Ireland, taking with him ſuch merchandize as might be like to be in demand there. Landing in Dublin, he was ſtrongly importuned to ſettle in that city, and beſides the ſolicitations of others, he had the inviting proſpect of a briſk trade and low rents, it being ſoon after the plague had left many houſes uninhabited.—[d] But he writes that he was reſcued by a ſecret hand, which he then knew not, from the deceitfulneſs of riches, being by his following experience, brought into the perſuaſion, that by cloſing in with the tempting proſpect, he might, in the acquiſition and purſuit of wealth, have been diverted from the principal object, a life of religious devotion to the ſervice of his Creator, as the means of ſecuring future felicity; which pernicious effect, he obſerved with regret, the acquiſition of wealth and love of the world, had on too many in that day.

Importuned to ſettle in Dublin, but prevented.

From this ſettled perſuaſion of mind of the danger hereof, we ſhall find him in the ſequel exerting his zealous endeavours to preſerve his friends in that moderation and ſelf-denial of which he ſet them a lively example, both on this occaſion, and at ſundry future periods of his life.

From Dublin he removes to reſide in Antrim.

[d] From Dublin he removed to the North, and took up his reſidence in Antrim, in or near which his brother was quartered; and quickly diſpoſing

[d] William Edmundſon's journal, p. 6.

diſpoſing of his goods, he went over to England to lay in a freſh ſtock, and in his travels through the North he heard that George Fox and James Naylor were then in thoſe parts, which raiſed his deſire to ſee and hear one or other of them. Going to a meeting where James Naylor was, he heard him explain the nature of the kingdom of God, and the work of regeneration; and though his words were not many, they were powerful, reaching the divine witneſs in his conſcience. [c] The ſubject was ſo clearly opened, and concurred with ſo many ſcriptures brought to William Edmundſon's remembrance, that he was thereby fully convinced, and thought all who heard his diſcourſe muſt needs confeſs it was the real truth. The impreſſion on his ſpirit was deep and laſting, and under the humbling and exerciſing effect thereof he returned home, having accompliſhed his buſineſs in England. Upon his arrival his brother received him with the cuſtomary ſalutation, but under his preſent exerciſe he could not return it in like manner; for being convinced of the neceſſity of being born again, in order to inherit the kingdom of heaven, he was affected with earneſt deſire after this happy condition, and impreſt with inward anxiety, and that godly ſorrow which works repentance, with a mixture of conſolation, in feeling the divine mercy awakening his underſtanding, and ſtrengthening his reſolution to endeavour after this arduous attainment. Under this humbling conflict of ſpirit he ſat down, his wife and brother ſitting by in ſilent aſtoniſhment at his viſible change.

Going to the North of England hears James Naylor preach.

[c] William Edmundſon's journal, p. 7.

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1653. Refuſes to ſwear.

[d] His ſincerity was ſoon brought to the teſt. When he came to the entry of his goods, he was, according to cuſtom, required to enter them upon oath, but he being perſuaded of the unlawfulneſs thereof, ſignified he could not ſwear, becauſe Chriſt had forbidden it. This doctrine appeared ſtrange to the officers, and no wonder, as it was the firſt time, in all probability, they had ever heard ſuch a ſcruple advanced; and his deportment and plain addreſs, ſtanding covered before them, and addreſſing them after the uſual way of this people, with the ſingular, *thou* and *thee*, was as offenſive to them, as his refuſal to ſwear appeared ſtrange. He was not inſenſible of the contempt and averſion, he ſhould expoſe himſelf to by a ſcrupulous adherence to the imputed ſingularities of his profeſſion; and found it a ſtrait path to tread, and was therefore engaged in mental prayer to the Lord, who (he writes) was pleaſed to adminiſter ſtrength and ability, to ſtand in the croſs, and deſpiſe the ſhame, whereby he was preſerved ſtedfaſt in his teſtimony to the truth, brought through the preſent trial without injuring his conſcience, received his goods, and went home.

Remark.

It ſeems not improper here to remark, that theſe peculiar ſcruples before-mentioned in the demeanour of this people, contrary to the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms of the nations at this day, have been (I think) ignorantly imagined to originate merely from an unmeaning affectation of ſingularity; but whoſoever hath been converſant in the memorials theſe worthy men have left behind

[d] Journal, p. 9.

behind them, of their ſpiritual exerciſes, will find ſufficient grounds to deduce them from a better original, a conſcientious conviction of rectitude and truth being in favour of them; too ſincere for affectation, and too honeſt for flattery; intent (above all things) upon ſeeking the approbation of their Creator, and the teſtimony of a good conſcience, by an unreſerved conformity to his will in their actions, their words, and the very thoughts of their hearts, although as men they were not inſenſible to the feelings of humanity, and were many of them, at firſt, affected with the natural reluctancy at the proſpect of expoſing themſelves to the cenſure, the ridicule, and even the abuſe of their relations and fellow-citizens, with whom they had before lived on good terms, by whom they had been reſpected, and with whom they had kept up an intercourſe of mutual complaiſancy; yet feeling no peace of mind but in adhering ſtrictly to that which was manifeſted to their underſtandings as right, even to the jot and the tittle, they preferred the inward teſtimony of divine approbation, to human reſpect and every worldly conſideration; and in the ſteady purſuit of this important attainment they were ſtrengthened to take up the daily croſs to that carnal diſpoſition, which would win human honour at the riſk of ſolid peace of mind. And apprehending their ſpirits divinely illuminated, to behold the polluted ſource from which theſe modes of complaiſant adulation and addreſs originated, and the unmeaning abuſe or deceitful purpoſes to which they were applied, thought it their duty not to hide the candle under the bed of perſonal eaſe; but to bear

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open teſtimony for truth and ſincerity, at the riſk of eaſe, reputation, and the regard of man.

1653. In this reſpect the ſituation of William Edmundſon muſt be peculiarly trying, circumſtanced as he was, all alone, and without a ſecond in ſimilarity of ſentiment or deportment, the wonder, the ſcorn, and gazing-ſtock to the world around him; where the name of Quaker had but lately been heard of, and where it was preſented to the imagination under all the veil of obloquy, which a preciſe and cenſorious age, or intereſted and exaſperated eccleſiaſticks thought proper to clothe it with. Beſides theſe external probations he was at this time agitated with internal conflicts in his ſpiritual warfare, under the work of ſanctification, and conviction in the ſenſe of his being (although religiouſly inclined from his youth) yet ſhort of that perfection of purity which by the divine light was diſcovered to his mind, as the requiſite duty of every Chriſtian to aſpire after, and through the aſſiſtance of grace follow to the attainment thereof[c]; in which religious exerciſe he paſſed through a fight of afflictions, wherein he could find none to ſpeak a word of comfort, or that had trodden in this ſtrait path, his only conſolation being the continued inward ſenſation of divine mercy, thus viſiting, ſtrengthening and animating his ſoul to the ſteady purſuit of its everlaſting well-being. Many profeſſors of religion came to carp at, diſpute with him, and ſpeak evil of the way he had embraced. Miſerable comforters theſe, adding trouble to his ſorrow.

[c] William Edmundſon's journal, p. 10.

ſorrow. But even theſe things wrought for good. For the cenſorious reflections of the ſelf-righteous profeſſors, and the deriſion of the profane and irreligious, to which this ſociety was at that time expoſed, raiſed a general curioſity, and ſpirit of enquiry into their real principles and conduct, whereby ſeveral of the ſober enquirers were undeceived, as to their miſtaken notions of this people through miſrepreſentation; and finding him and his friends neither deluded nor deceivers, but men of ſincerity and truth, joined with them in ſociety. 1653.

1654. Miles Halhead, James Lancaſter and Miles Bateman viſit Ireland.

[f]In the year 1654, Miles Halhead, James Lancaſter and Miles Bateman travelled into Ireland, where they publiſhed the truth by preaching to the people in the cities, towns and villages, and before the magiſtrates, as they were occaſionally brought into their preſence, and many of the inhabitants hearkened to, and became convinced of the doctrine of the divine light, which they every where bore teſtimony to.

William Edmundſon removes from Antrim to Lurgan, and ſettles a meeting there.

[g]In the ſame year William Edmundſon removing his habitation from Antrim to Lurgan, a meeting was kept in his houſe there, which was the firſt ſettled meeting of the people called Quakers in Ireland. This meeting was but ſmall at firſt, but their number encreaſed, divers ſober people, who were ſeeking after the knowledge of God, joining with them. They held their meeting for ſome time in ſilent waiting upon the Lord, and felt his preſence to comfort and ſtrengthen them in their religious exerciſe, having no member concerned in the miniſtry, nor being,

[f] Journal, p. 10. [g] Beſſe, v. 2. p. 457.

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1654. receives a gift in the miniſtry.

being, ſince they had a regular meeting, as yet viſited by any from England. But it was not long until William Edmundſon received a part in the miniſtry of the goſpel, and was influenced, at times, to ſpeak a few words for the encouragement and edification of his friends, although in weakneſs and fear. [h] Shortly after he believed it his duty to bear a public teſtimony to the truth in the public worſhip-houſe, for which he was ſeverely beaten by Colonel Stewart; but his teſtimony was effectual to the convincement of ſome of the auditory, in particular two of them named Mark Wright and Mark Sawyer followed him out of ſaid worſhip-houſe, and joined him in community.

John Tiffin comes over from England.

[i] Now John Tiffin came over from England, ſat with theſe friends in their meeting in Lurgan, and ſometimes ſpoke a few encouraging and edifying words amongſt them. William Edmundſon and he joined as companions in traveling, and in the exerciſe of ſucceſsful miniſterial labour, through much oppoſition both from the prieſts and people. The former taking the alarm at their doctrine, pointed againſt a hireling miniſtry, and the lawfulneſs of tithes, or compulſory meaſures to extort antichriſtian demands under the goſpel, exerted themſelves to incenſe the magiſtrates and rulers to perſecution againſt this people, as holding damnable doctrines: The latter, offended at the apprehended ruſticity of their addreſs, frequently ill treated them not only with abuſive expreſſions, but often with blows and ſtoning them.

They

[h] Rutty's Riſe and Progreſs.

[i] William Edmundſon's Journal, p. 14.

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[k] They went to Belfaſt (a town of great profeſſion of religion, but very deficient in hoſpitality) not an inn nor public houſe in the town being willing to entertain them, one excepted; here John Tiffin lodged, and ſought frequent opportunities to promulgate his doctrine there; but the inhabitants, full of their own righteouſneſs, and looking at them through the medium of prejudice, ſhut their ears, their hearts and their houſes againſt them. Thus at the beginning the way was ſtrait and difficult, but the firſt of this people being men that truly loved and feared their Creator, all things wrought together for their good: For the general ignominy which the malevolence of their adverſaries, who were many, loaded them with, and who were watching for their halting, was the means of encreaſing their circumſpect care over their own words and actions, and over one another for good, to take away all juſt occaſion of reproach; and as they were kept humble, walking in awful fear before the Almighty, and blameleſsly before men, preaching in their lives and converſation, to the reaching the divine witneſs in many, by theſe means, as well as their doctrinal labours, ſeveral converts were brought over to join them; and this ſociety gained ground, and proſpered (through divine bleſſing) notwithſtanding all the difficulties they laboured under. John Tiffin, having ſpent five or ſix weeks here, returned to England.

1654. William Edmundſon and John Tiffin go to Belfaſt.

The next miniſter who came out of England, was Richard Clayton, who came directly to William Edmundſon's, as he underſtood it, by the Lord's direction. William joined him in his

1655. Richard Clayton and William Edmundſon travel on foot.

[k] William Edmundſon's Journal, p. 17.

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his travels on foot, through the county of Antrim to Colerain, where they preached through the ſtreet, for the inhabitants would not admit them into their houſes, nor ſuffer them to lodge in the town; ſo they were obliged to take up their lodging at a cabin in the mountains, and next day they reached Londonderry, where they were hoſpitably entertained by one Evans, who with ſeveral of his family was convinced by them. They had two meetings in that city, both of which were attended by the governor, who with ſeveral others, acknowledged the truth of their doctrine, and demeaned themſelves with kindneſs and affectionate regard towards them. From thence returning through the counties of Tyrone and Armagh, they came to the houſe of Margery Atkinſon near Kilmore, where they had a meeting on the firſt day of the week, at which meeting ſeveral ſober people were convinced, through the ſerviceable miniſtry of Richard Clayton, receiving the truth in the love of it. And having ſettled a meeting there (which in time became large) they took leave of each other, and ſoon after Richard Clayton returned to England.

at Colerain are refuſed entertainment. Londonderry.

Near Kilmore ſeveral convinced.

Now the belief in the inward principle of light and grace began to ſpread, and the profeſſors thereof to encreaſe in their number in the northern parts, ſo that meetings begun to be ſettled in divers places hereaway. One at Gabriel Clark's, at Grange in the county of Antrim, and another at Archibald Scott's, at Toberhead, county of Londonderry. Convincement ſpread; and the reſentment of the prieſts and high profeſſors received additional heat from the obſervation of ſeveral leaving them; ſo that to avenge themſelves, they procured the impriſonment

Meetings ſettled at Grange, county of Antrim, and Toberhead, county of Londonderry.

ſonment of William Edmundſon, in Armagh jail. CHAP. XIII.

[1]This year James Lancaſter and John Tiffin came over from England the ſecond time: They landed in the North, and came to Lurgan, where they had a meeting on the green, near the market place; here they were ſet upon by the populace, who beat the ſaid friends and William Edmundſon their townſman very ſeverely, and drove them to the town's end, with intention to drive them out of it entirely; but the more ſober part of the inhabitants riſing to oppoſe them, prevented their deſign. 1655. James Lancaſter and John Tiffin a ſecond time.

As yet the profeſſion of thoſe called Quakers had been confined to the province of Ulſter; but now it began to extend to other parts, principally through the miniſterial labours of Elizabeth Fletcher and Elizabeth Smith; Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough, who went over to that nation in the courſe of this year; the former are ſuppoſed to be the firſt of this ſociety who had a meeting in Dublin in the chamber of Richard Fowkes near Polegate, and ſoon after a meeting was ſettled at George Latham's, near the ſame place. Their labours were alſo remarkably ſucceſsful in the ſouthern parts of that nation, being effectual to the convincement of many in Dublin and in the province of Munſter, particularly William Ames who had formerly been a military officer, a bold and zealous man, and a teacher amongſt the Baptiſts. Elizabeth Fletcher, Elizabeth Smith, Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough. Firſt meeting in Dublin. Many convinced there and in Munſter.

Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough alſo travelled ſouthward into Munſter; at Bandon, Francis Howgill was kindly entertained by Edward

[1] Rutty's Riſe and Progreſs.

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1655. Bandon.

* Edward Cook, a man of good parts, a Cornet in Oliver Cromwell's own troop, and receiver to Lord Cork, and being convinced, he accompanied him on the firſt day of the week to the public worſhip, where Francis declared truth to the congregation. [m] In concluſion Edward Cook invited them to come to a meeting to be held at his houſe that evening, to which accordingly a great concourſe of people reſorted, to whom Francis preached the goſpel, and expounded the way to life and ſalvation; many confeſſed to the truth of his doctrine, and joined in ſociety with the Quakers ſo called.

Many convinced.

At Limerick aſſaulted and put out of the gates.

From hence they went to Limerick, and attempting to ſpeak in the public place of worſhip, were prevented by an aſſault of the people, and next morning were put forth through the gates. Edward Burrough preached through the ſtreets as they paſſed along, and without the gates had an opportunity to preach to a great multitude, ſeveral of whom were ſo reached by his teſtimony, as to become proſelytes to his doctrine and profeſſion.

From Limerick, I apprehend, they returned to Cork; but theſe their ſucceſsful labours, and the number of thoſe who thereby were brought to the acknowledgement of the truth of their doctrines, alarming the jealouſy of the prieſts or public

* The ſaid Edward Cook embraced the truth with his whole heart, and retained it, was given up to ſerve the Lord, and lived and walked under the croſs of Chriſt Jeſus, in great ſelf-denial to the world and the glory and greatneſs of it to his dying day, and laid down his head in peace with God, and ſweet unity with true hearted friends. Rutty's Riſe and Progreſs, p. 95.

[m] Riſe and Progreſs, p. 95.

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public teachers, by an order of government, at at their inſtigation, theſe two eminent miniſters of the goſpel, were taken priſoners in Cork, and ſent under a guard from garriſon to garriſon to Dublin, where they were committed to the cuſtody of Edward Mortimer, Serjeant at Arms, until an order was procured from Henry Cromwell, Lord Deputy, to baniſh them out of the nation, and a guard of ſoldiers was appointed to conduct them on ſhipboard, and ſo to be tranſported to England.

1655. Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill taken priſoners in Cork, and ſent under a guard to Dublin, and baniſhed.

[n] As Edward Burrough had been a zealous advocate for the liberty of his brethren in divers remonſtrances to the ruling powers in England; ſo in his own caſe his fortitude, founded on conſcious integrity, and internal conviction of innocence, did not deſert him: With ſtrength of reaſon, and the manly ſpirit of evangelical liberty, in a ſimilar addreſs to the preſent rulers of Ireland, he pleaded his own cauſe, and that of his fellow-ſufferer, againſt the arbitrary exertion of power, in inflicting puniſhment without legal conviction of any crime. Remonſtrating, that they were men free born, fearing God, and working righteouſneſs; ſupporters of juſtice and true judgment in the earth, ſubject to all equal rule, and every juſt ordinance of man for conſcience ſake. That they had come into Ireland under the beſt impreſſions, and with the beſt views, with the meſſage of the Goſpel of Chriſt Jeſus, to turn men from darkneſs to light, and to miniſter the word of reconciliation and ſalvation freely, without gift or reward: That they had travelled for this purpoſe ſix months in ſundry

Edward Burrough remonſtrates againſt their treatment.

[n] Riſe and Progreſs, p. 100.

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ſundry parts of the nation, through many ſufferings and reproaches, preaching the kingdom of God, in ſobriety, meekneſs, and the exerciſe of a pure conſcience both in doctrine and converſation, appealing to all who had heard the one or beheld the other, as witneſſes for them and their inoffenſive and peaceable demeanour, and challenging even their bittereſt enemies to prove the contrary. That notwithſtanding their manifeſt innocence, upon malicious ſuggeſtions and informations, grounded upon no matter of fact, a warrant had been iſſued againſt them, as diſturbers of the public peace, from the * chief ruler and council of Ireland, by virtue whereof they were apprehended in the city of Cork, and tranſmitted under a guard through the country, towns and cities like the vileſt criminals to Dublin, where alſo they were hauled by guards before the council as malefactors: That upon their examination there, none of theſe things whereof they were accuſed could be proved againſt them, nor were they, nor could they be convicted of the tranſgreſſion of any known law; yet were they, without trial, without conviction, condemned to impriſonment, in order to be tranſported out of the country as vagabonds, a title applied to them by a groſs miſapplication and perverſion of the term, being men of ſufficient property and eſtate: For, (ſays he) of whom have we begged? to whom have we been burdenſome? or whoſe bread have we eaten for nothing? or what evil have we done? In fine, making a ſolemn appeal to the reaſon and conſciences of their perſecutors for juſtice, and boldly demanding

* Henry Cromwell, Lord Deputy.

manding their right and privilege, as freeborn subjects, of their perſonal liberty, until they ſhould be proved guilty by the law of equity or that of the land, to which they profeſſed ſubjection, and that for conſcience ſake *. CHAP. XIII. 1655.

[o] The ſame day that they were baniſhed from Dublin, Barbara Blaugdon landed there, and went directly to the deputy's houſe, and with ſome difficulty got admittance to him: being introduced into the drawing-room, a ſcheme was laid to impoſe upon her, for as they knew ſhe had never ſeen the deputy, another perſon (a prieſt) came out of the deputy's chamber covered, thoſe that attended him ſtanding bareheaded; and as ſhe did not immediately ſpeak, ſome of thoſe ſtanding by, aſked her *why ſhe did not ſpeak to their lord?* But ſhe, having a ſenſe of the intended deception, anſwered, *When I ſee your lord, I ſhall deliver my meſſage to him:* Soon after the deputy himſelf came forth, and ſat down on a couch, to whom ſhe addreſſed herſelf, cautioning him, *to beware that he was not found fighting againſt God, in oppoſing the truth, and perſecuting the innocent; but, like wiſe Gamaliel, to let them alone; for if it was of God, it would ſtand, but if of man it would fall. Adding that the enmity was not ſo much in himſelf, but that he was incited by evil magiſtrates and envious prieſts: But in the mean time, in his name and under his authority, much injury was done to the people of God, all over the nation, and that at laſt it would lie heavy upon him.* She

Barbara Blaugdon lands in Dublin, and viſits the deputy.

* This remonſtrance may be ſeen at large in Rutty's hiſtory of the Riſe and Progreſs of the Quakers in Ireland, as alſo an excellent Epiſtle to his Friends in that kingdom.

[o] Sewel, p. 110.

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She ſpake ſo powerfully, that the deputy appeared under much concern.

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Having now performed her ſervice in Dublin, ſhe went to Cork, where ſhe had ſome relations and acquaintance; but her ſufferings were great, for ſhe was impriſoned almoſt wherever ſhe came; and generally whereſoever ſhe preached, it was attended with demonſtration, and effectual to the convincement of ſome of the auditory.

1656. William Edmundſon quits ſhop-keeping and takes a farm.

[p] In the year 1656 William Edmundſon apprehended it his duty to diſcontinue the buſineſs of ſhop-keeping, and take a farm; in order to ſtrengthen and encourage his friends to faithfulneſs in the teſtimony they had conſcientiouſly to maintain againſt the antichriſtian yoke of oppreſſion, the enforcing the payment of tithes, under the diſpenſation of the goſpel, as apprehending his endeavours to preſerve them ſtedfaſt under their ſufferings would be likely to have a more prevalent effect, when by being a ſharer therein he ſhould give force to his advice and religious concern, by his own example. With this view, he and ſome other friends, leaving the meeting at Lurgan, to which they belonged, well ſettled, and in a proſperous way, removed with their families, and took land in the county of Cavan, and ſettled a meeting in that county, and held meetings in divers places, whereby their profeſſion gained ground, and the ſociety enlarged its numbers, ſeveral being convinced, and aſſociating with them.

Removes to the county of Cavan, and ſettles a meeting there.

1657. Thomas Loe.

In the ſucceeding year the meetings of this people in Ireland were viſited by Thomas Loe, from

[p] Journal, p. 25.

from Oxford, an able and eminent miniſter of the goſpel, endued with ſpiritual diſcernment to divide the word aright, to the differing ſtates of auditory. He travelled (partly on foot) through the greateſt part of the nation, and by his powerful and prevailing miniſtry was inſtrumental to confirm and edify his friends, who were before gathered into the ſociety, and to encreaſe their number by the convincement of others. CHAP. XIII. 1657.

The next miniſter of note, who came from England was John Burnyeat from Cumberland, a man from deep experience of the work of ſanctification, and the reception of an excellent gift in the miniſtry, eminently qualified to promote the work of reformation, and to publiſh the glad tidings of the goſpel. He landed at Donaghadee in the province of Ulſter, and travelled on foot, through divers parts of that province, and by means of his miniſtry many were converted from the vanity and evil of their ways. Thence he travelled ſouthward into Munſter, and back again into the North, and at Lurgan met with Robert Lodge, who was lately come over from England, and who was alſo an able miniſter of the goſpel: They joined in travelling and in miniſterial labour, promulgating truth, and convincing many. At Londonderry they experienced a very different reception from thoſe who went thither before, theſe being refuſed entertainment, when known to be Quakers, ſo called, although they offered to pay for it. They went to the place of public worſhip on the firſt day, and had a good opportunity to publiſh their doctrine to the people; but at length the mayor ſent his officers and forced them out of the city. They proceeded from thence to ſeveral other

1659. John Burnyeat.

Travels into Munſter.

Joined by Robert Lodge.

At Londonderry meet with inhoſpitable treatment.

Forced out of the city.

CHAP. XIII. 1659.

other places in the province of Ulſter, and then travelled ſouthward to Dublin, thence weſtward to Galway, and from thence by Limerick to Cork and Bandon, and then returned to the North again. Thus with diligence and laborious travels, through cold, hunger and hardſhip many times (ſeveral parts of the country being moſtly uninhabited) and divers impriſonments, as at Armagh, Dublin and Cork, for the ſpace of twelve months, they zealouſly exerciſed the talents they had received for the good of ſouls, and the propagating truth and righteouſneſs in this land; without any view to other reward, than the inward peace reſulting from the conſcientious diſcharge of their duty in the ſight of God, who was pleaſed to bleſs their labours, to the convincing and gathering many to the truth they promulgated.

William Edmundſon and others removed from the county of Cavan to the Queen's county.

This year ſeveral of the friends who had removed into the county of Cavan, being diſappointed by their landlord in not fulfilling his covenant with them, left it, and ſettled in or near Mountmelick in the Queen's county, viz. William Edmundſon, Richard Jackſon, John Edmundſon, John Pim and ſundry others; and ſeveral having been convinced in theſe parts before, a meeting was ſettled at Mountmelick, which is ſince become large. The meeting which they left at Cavan continued there until it was loſt by means of the war, friends who lived there being driven from their habitations, and diſperſed into other parts.

Meeting ſettled at Mountmelick.

Although the way was difficult to our firſt friends in this nation, and they had a ſhare in the ſufferings of their friends in England, yet it doth not appear that perſecution was either ſo general

general or ſo violent as in the latter kingdom, which I am ready to attribute to the moderation and humanity of Henry Cromwell, at this time chief governor, more eſpecially as we have fewer accounts of impriſonments and perſecutions in the city of Dublin than in remoter parts, not ſo immediately under the eye of the government. The moſt remarkable caſes that I meet with, beſides thoſe already mentioned, are thoſe which follow: CHAP. XIII. 1659.

[q] Barbara Blaugdon landing a ſecond time in this country, after narrowly eſcaping ſhipwreck off Dungarvan, came to Dublin, where ſhe felt herſelf concerned to go to the court of juſtice, and exhort the judges to righteouſneſs and equity in the diſcharge of their functions: But her exhortation was ſo ill received, that ſhe was immediately ſhut up in a very dangerous and loathſome priſon, where ſhe lay upon ſtraw, and when it rained, the wet and filth of the houſe of office ran in under her. She was arraigned and required to plead *guilty* or *not guilty;* to which ſhe anſwered, "there was no guilt upon any "one's conſcience for what was done in obedi-"ence to the Lord;" which anſwer not ſatisfying, ſhe was ſent back to priſon, where ſhe ſuffered much. She was afterward impriſoned in Limerick, and when releaſed thence returned to England; but in her paſſage thither was robbed by a privateer of all ſhe had on board. 1655. Barbara Blaugdon impriſoned.

Edward Cooke, a ſoldier in Oliver Cromwell's army, being convinced of the principles of this people, was ſent for before the general, where nothing appeared againſt him, but that he refuſed to pull off his hat, uſing the language of *thee* and E. Cooke turned out of the army and deprived of his pay.

[q] Beſſe, vol. ii. p. 459.

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thou, and declining the cuſtomary compliments; for theſe cauſes he was diſmiſſed from the army, and defrauded of his pay. Thus thoſe ſoldiers, who pretended once to fight for liberty of conſcience, became oppreſſors of other men's conſciences, as ſoon as they were thereby brought into any practice contrary to their general opinions.

1655.

1656. William Edmundſon travelling northward, came to a town called Finah, where the innkeepers, when they perceived he was a Quaker, refuſed him lodging[r], upon which he applied to the conſtable to provide him lodging as being a traveller, and having money to pay for it, and not without much entreaty obtained admittance into his houſe, being an ale-houſe; into which when he entered, he found a company of troopers drinking, who received him with ſcoffs and impertinencies. They afterward took great offence at his ſingular addreſs, one of them ſwearing *if he thou'd him again he would cleave his head.* And accordingly when in the courſe of converſation he uſed the term *thou* to him again, the trooper drew his ſword; but a corporal being preſent prevented him from miſchief, ordered him to put up his ſword, and cauſing the troopers to go to their quarters, he entered into diſcourſe with him till late at night, was convinced, and came to meetings.

He proceeded to Belturbet, and had a ſatisfactory meeting there, but the provoſt of the town being invidiouſly diſpoſed came with ſome rude people, broke up the meeting, and impriſoned both men and women all night in a very cold

[r] Rutty's Riſe and Progreſs.

cold place, and it being a ſeaſon of froſt and ſnow, they were greatly pinched with the cold, eſpecially the women. The next morning he ſet them all at liberty except William Edmundſon, whom he ſet in the ſtocks in the market-place, where, the people gathering about him, furniſhed him with an opportunity to preach to them, who heard him with attention and ſobriety, and reflected much upon the provoſt for abuſing him.

1656. Wm. Edmundſon put in the ſtocks at Belturbet.

The people in general appearing diſſatisfied with the provoſt's treatment of William Edmundſon, he ſent his officer to let him out; but as he had been thus made a public ſpectacle without the violation of any law, he would not ſubmit to a releaſe from a petty officer, till the provoſt who put him in came in perſon to take him out.

About this time Oliver Cromwell had publiſhed a declaration, "That ſuch ſhould be protected in their religion as owned God the "Creator of all things, and Chriſt Jeſus the Sa"viour of men, and the ſcriptures, &c." Wherefore when William Edmundſon was ſet at liberty, the governor of the garriſon, officers and principal inhabitants, had him brought before them to try him by the declaration, whether he and his friends were under Oliver's protection or not. The declaration being read, and William being called upon to anſwer to the particulars, gave them ſuch ſatisfaction, that the governor and company gave judgment, they were under protection, and their religion was to be protected. The provoſt being preſent, was covered with ſhame and confuſion at this oblique condemnation of his conduct.

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[s] By a general account publiſhed about this time, it appears that for ſpeaking the truth in ſteeple-houſes, markets and other places, ninety-four perſons of this ſociety had been ſufferers by fines, whipping, putting in the ſtocks, impriſonment and loſs of goods. That nineteen perſons had been impriſoned for meeting to worſhip God in their own houſes; and that twelve had been ſtopped as they were paſſing the ſtreets and highways about their lawful occaſions, and committed to priſon.

[s] Beſſe.

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NEW ENGLAND.

Diſcovery of North-America.—Firſt Planters of New-England.—John Robinſon's Farewell-Admonition.—Emigrations multiply in the Reign of Charles I.*—Reflection on the Spirit of theſe Coloniſts.—Roger Williams baniſhed for his religious Opinions.—Schiſm at Boſton.—Synod convened to decide upon it.—John Wheelwright ſummoned before the Court, disfranchiſed and baniſhed.—John Coggeſhal disfranchiſed.—Ann Hutchinſon adopts Antinomian Opinions; ſummoned before the Court and condemned to Baniſhment; murdered by the Indians.—Some of the People profeſſing Anabaptiſm are perſecuted.—Three of them committed to Priſon.—Law againſt Anabaptiſts.*

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IN order more fully to elucidate this part of the hiſtory, it ſeems not improper to take a retroſpective view of the firſt ſettlement of Europeans in this country of New England, one of the moſt conſiderable ſtates of the late Britiſh dominions in North America.

[a] The continent of North America was diſcovered by Sebaſtian Cabot, in the name of Henry VII. in the year 1497. It firſt received the name of

[a] Guthrie.

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of Newfoundland, which is now appropriated ſolely to an iſland on its coaſt. It was a long time before any attempt was made to fix a ſettlement in this country. Sir Walter Raleigh firſt ſhewed the way by planting a colony in the ſouthern part, which he called Virginia, in compliment to his miſtreſs Queen Elizabeth, under which name at firſt the whole tract of land from the bay of Fundy to Florida was comprehended, and was diſtinguiſhed only into South Virginia and North Virginia, which together contained the countries which came afterwards to be diſtinguiſhed by the names of New England, New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Carolina and Georgia. King James I. incorporated two companies by patent, one for South Virginia, called the London Adventurers, and the other for North Virginia, who were diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Plymouth Adventurers.

First planters of New England.

[b] The firſt coloniſts who went over to people this latter country were a claſs of Puritans (ſo called) diſtinguiſhed firſt by the name of *Browniſts*, from Robert Brown their leader or teacher, and afterwards by that of Independents. A congregation of theſe in the eaſtern parts of England, viz. Nottinghamſhire, Lincolnſhire and Yorkſhire, who had choſen John Robinſon for their paſtor, and William Brewſter for their elder, to avoid the perſecution they found themſelves expoſed to from the biſhops in the year 1608, fled for refuge to Holland, and fixed their reſidence at Leyden, where they enjoyed the privilege of performing their worſhip in their own way without moleſtation.

After

[b] Neale.

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After ſome years reſidence here, Robinſon apprehending their church would naturally be brought to a diſſolution, and their religion be loſt in a ſtrange land, and having little proſpect of obtaining * an eſtabliſhment or even a toleration for them in England, encouraged his followers to tranſport themſelves and their families into ſome part of the Britiſh dominions in America, where they might live by themſelves, and have a proſpect of encreaſing their number by the future reſort of their friends and countrymen of like principles, as to an aſylum from the ſufferings and perſecutions, which their diſſent from the national worſhip ſtill rendered them obnoxious to.

Being thus brought to a reſolution to emigrate, 1620.
they ſent over agents to treat with the Virginia company in England for a large tract of land in the northern part of that country, repreſenting themſelves as conſiderable for their numbers, inured to hardſhips, induſtrious and frugal; and embarking on a religious motive, they hoped for the bleſſing of the Almighty, and reſolution to ſurmount all difficulties. Theſe repreſentations induced the company to comply with their propoſal; and they agreed among themſelves to divide, that one party ſhould go before, to prepare for the reception of the reſt. Robinſon, their paſtor, ſtaid with the reſidue at Leyden, and

* Theſe are Neale's expreſſions, and carry an appearance as if theſe emigrants had more extenſive views in their emigration than merely withdrawing from the reach of epiſcopal power; and their ſubſequent conduct ſeems to afford ground for the ſuppoſition, that even then they were not exempt from thoughts of eſtabliſhing amongſt themſelves an independent dominion in church and ſtate.

CHAP. XIV. and Brewſter their elder put himſelf at the head of the emigrants.

1620. When the time of their ſeparation was come, they appointed a day of faſting and prayer, to implore a bleſſing on their hazardous undertaking; upon which occaſion their paſtor preached to them from Ezra, viii. 21. concluding his diſcourſe with the following exhortation, which if the chiefs of his flock and their ſucceſſors had, in the adminiſtration of their government in their new colony, paid a proper attention to, they had reſcued themſelves from much guilt and cenſure; but as their paſtor did not live to join them, it ſeems as if the good man and his admonitions were too ſoon forgotten; although, from the chriſtian temper that animates them, well worthy of remembrance.

J. Robinſon's farewell admonition to the emigrants.

"Brethren, (ſays he) we are now quickly to "part from one another, and whether I may "ever live to ſee your faces on earth, the God "of heaven only knows; but whether the Lord "hath appointed that, or no, I charge you before "God and his bleſſed angels, that you follow me "no farther than you have ſeen me follow the "Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

"If God reveal any thing to you by any other "inſtrument of his, be as ready to receive it, as "ever you were to receive any truth by my "miniſtry; for I am verily perſuaded, I am "very confident, the Lord has more truth yet "to break forth out of his holy word. For "my part, I cannot ſufficiently bewail the con-"dition of the reformed churches, who are "come to a period in religion, and will go at "preſent no further than the inſtruments of "their reformation. The Lutherans can't be "drawn to go beyond what Luther ſaw: what-

"ever

" ever part of his will our great God has re- CHAP. XIV.
" vealed to Calvin, they will rather die than
" embrace it; and the Calviniſts, you ſee, ſtick 1620.
" faſt where they were left by that great man,
" who yet ſaw not all things.

" This is a miſery much to be lamented; for
" though they were burning and ſhining lights
" in their times, yet they penetrated not into
" the whole counſel of God; but were they now
" living would be as willing to embrace further
" light, as that which they firſt received. I be-
" ſeech you remember it, it is an article of your
" church covenant, *That you be ready to receive*
" *whatever truth ſhall be made known to you from*
" *the written word of God.* Remember *that*,
" and every other article of your ſacred cove-
" nant: But I muſt herewith exhort you to take
" heed what you receive as truth. Examine it,
" conſider it, and compare it with other ſcrip-
" tures of truth, before you receive it; for it
" is not poſſible the chriſtian world ſhould come
" ſo lately out of ſuch thick antichriſtian dark-
" neſs, and that perfection of knowledge ſhould
" break forth at once.

" I muſt alſo adviſe you to abandon, avoid
" and ſhake off the name of *Browniſt*: 'Tis a
" meer nickname; and a brand for the making
" religion, and the profeſſors of it, odious to the
" chriſtian world."

Theſe firſt ſettlers with their families made about one hundred in number, and having taken ſhipping from Plymouth, they diſtinguiſhed the place of their ſettlement in New England by the name of New Plymouth. Their number gradu- 1629.
ally encreaſed by the arrival of other emigrants from England; but it was in the ſucceeding reign of Charles the Firſt that emigrations became far

In the reign of Charles I. emigrations encreaſe.

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far more numerous and more conſiderable. The King having committed the direction of eccleſiaſtical affairs into the hands of the biſhops, and more particularly to William Laud, then biſhop of London, and afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury; his intemperate bigotry to uſeleſs and unmeaning ceremonies; his averſion to the Puritans, to whom his innovations in worſhip were an abomination; and his determined reſolution to force them into an uniformity after his ſuperſtitious ſcheme, impelled him to proſecute them with rigorous ſeverity in the high commiſſion court and Star Chamber, two very arbitrary and illegal courts, that ſeem to have been eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of ſubduing the people to an abſolute ſubjection to the crown in temporals, and the mitre in ſpirituals.

To evade the perſecution of this furious prelate and his aſſociates, many of the Puritan teachers with their hearers reſolved to withdraw to New England for ſanctuary. About the year 1625, *White*, miniſter of *Dorcheſter*, encouraged by the ſucceſs of Plymouth colony, projected a new ſettlement at Maſſachuſet's Bay, as an aſylum for the ſilenced miniſters, and engaging ſeveral perſons of conſequence in the project, a patent was obtained from the King by the adventurers.

One Roger Conant was firſt ſent over to eſtabliſh a ſettlement in 1625, and after him John Endicot with recruits and proviſions in 1628. And in the next year the grand colony ſailed in ſix ſhips, and arriving at their intended ſettlement founded there the towns of Salem, Charleſtown and Boſton.

Reflections on the ſpirit of theſe coloniſts.

Religion (ſaith Neale) being the chief motive of their coming over into theſe parts, they reſolved to ſettle that in the firſt place; accordingly,

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ly, with the approbation of John Endicott, their deputy governor, they adopted the church order and diſcipline ſettled by their brethren at Plymouth, upon the * ſyſtem of their former paſtor, John Robinſon; however, diſregarding his farewell admonition, their preſent teachers and governors ſeem to have been a ſelf-righteous generation, ſo far from the diffidence in their preſent attainments, and that openneſs to the reception of the further revelation of truth, which he recommended; that in their own opinionated apprehenſions of their own purity and ultimate refinement of orthodoxy, they watched with a jealous eye every conſcientious diſſent from their eſtabliſhment, every attempt towards a further reformation. In their new religious ſyſtem, with all their regard to the written word, they appear to have overlooked the principal moral rule of the goſpel, "whatſoever ye would that "men ſhould do unto you, do ye even ſo to "them." For theſe religious diſſenters from eſtabliſhed forms of worſhip, would admit of no diſſent from that way or form they eſtabliſhed in their new colony; notwithſtanding their violent exclamations againſt the tyranny and oppreſſion of the biſhops, in endeavouring to force an uniformity in worſhip by penal laws and coercive meaſures, they were no ſooner inveſted with the power, than they trod in the very ſame ſteps, being

* John Robinſon was the father of the independents, being the firſt that beat out a middle way between Browniſm and Preſbytery; he maintained the lawfulneſs of ſeparating from thoſe reformed churches amongſt which he lived, yet did not deny them to be true churches; he allowed the lawfulneſs of communicating with them in the word and prayer, but not in the ſacraments and diſcipline.

CHAP. XIV. 1634.

being equally rigorous in exacting uniformity, and as ſevere in enacting and executing penal laws againſt con-conformiſts. Whilſt under ſufferings, they pleaded for liberty of conſcience to themſelves, which when in a capacity to exerciſe authority, they refuſed to others *. Of the juſtice of theſe remarks, ſevere as they may ſeem, the ſequel furniſhes too many melancholy inſtances.

Roger Williams baniſhed.

Long before thoſe called Quakers came amongſt them, and before they exiſted as a ſociety, as early as the year 1634, about four years after their ſettlement here, they baniſhed Roger

* Guthrie's remarks on this ſubject are a confirmation of theſe obſervations. The inhabitants of New England, who fled from perſecution, became in a ſhort time tainted with this illiberal vice, and were eager to introduce an uniformity in religion among all that entered their territories.

We have alſo a full proof of this in a letter dated Auguſt 16, 1677, from William Coddington, governor of Rhode-Iſland, to R. Fretwell:

"[b] Theſe *forty* years to my knowledge, they [the rulers of "New-England] have had many warnings from the Spirit "of the Lord in his ſervants, all crying out againſt their "*idolatrous practices, confuſed principles and fighting ſpirit*, "long before that reproachful name of *Quakers* got up, and "before they were ſent of God to call them to repentance "and amendment of life; but theſe they evilly entreated, as "they have done John Wheelwright, Anne Hutchinſon and "others, baniſhing them at a court at Boſton in 1636, Henry "Vane, governor, and twelve magiſtrates, twelve prieſts, and "thirty-three deputies: [b] Notwithſtanding the governor and "myſelf, who was then a magiſtrate and treaſurer of the "country, being againſt it, had for two days the major-part "of the magiſtrates and deputies holding with us; till the "third day the prieſts gained over two of the magiſtrates to "their ſide, and ſo got a majority, who proceeded to baniſh "them, although we entered our proteſt againſt it."

b. Beſſe, vol. ii. 261.

Roger Williams, paſtor of their church at Salem, for his religious opinions †. In the year 1637 a more extenſive ſchiſm broke out, which divided the inhabitants of Boſton and the adjacent country into two parties, under the denominations of *Antinomians* and *Legaliſts*, or *ſuch as were* (as they termed it) *for a covenant of grace; and ſuch as were for a covenant of works:* And as it was no unuſual thing with this body to mix politics with their religion, (the general prelude to perſecution) the Antinomians exerted themſelves to keep Henry Vane, (afterwards a diſtinguiſhed character in the long parliament) their preſent governor in power, as he openly eſpouſed their doctrines, and protected their preachers: On the other ſide, the oppoſite party employed their efforts to eject him, and ſubſtitute * John Winthrop as governor in his ſtead, and

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1637. Schiſm at Boſton. Neale.

† Theſe opinions (according to Neal) were "that it was "not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor for good "men to join in family prayer with thoſe they judged unre-"generate. That it was not lawful to take an oath before a "magiſtrate. That the patent they had from King Charles "for their lands was invalid, and an inſtrument of injuſtice "to the natives, the king having no right to diſpoſe of their "lands to his ſubjects without their conſent. That magi-"ſtrates had nothing to do with matters of the firſt table, but "the ſecond only; that there ſhould be an unlimited toler-"ation for all religions, and to puniſh men for matters of "conſcience was perſecution." I ſee nothing in theſe opinions deſerving baniſhment or even cenſure. Neal's hiſtory of New-England, v. i. p. 159.

* John Winthrop, although choſen governor for the purpoſe either of ſuppreſſing the Antinomians, or at leaſt depriving them of any powerful ſupport, ſeems to have been a man of too much good ſenſe and moderation to be a ſanguine perſecutor. To keep up his party, and to accommodate the furious temper of the prieſts, he was led too far into the perſecuting

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and with ſome difficulty ſucceeded in the election: Winthrop being ſettled in the government, and the Antinomians having loſt their chief protector, a ſynod was convened to conſider the controverted points, and give judgment upon them. This ſynod conſiſted not only of the miniſters and delegates, but the magiſtrates alſo, under colour of keeping the peace, were preſent, and had liberty to ſpeak if they thought proper. By this ſynod, compoſed chiefly of their antagoniſts, the Antinomian opinions to be ſure were condemned. This point being carried, the next ſtep was to ſummon the principals of the party before the ſecular court, which was removed for the purpoſe to Newtown, (ſince called Cambridge) from fear that they had too many partiſans in Boſton. And three of the Boſton deputies having ſided with theſe Antinomians, in the firſt place were expelled the court; before the court thus culled for the purpoſe, John Wheelwright, colleague with John Cotton as preacher at Boſton, being an Antinomian, was ſummoned to appear and give anſwer, whether he would acknowledge his offence in preaching up theſe new doctrines, ſtiling his diſcourſe a ſeditious ſermon, or abide the ſentence of the court, his anſwer being "that he had been guilty of no ſedition nor "contempt; that he had delivered nothing but "the truth of Chriſt, and for the application "of

Synod convened to decide upon it.

John Wheelwright ſummoned before the court.

perſecuting meaſures adopted at this time, but lived long enough to ſee and condemn his error; for when advanced in years and infirm, Dudley and others applied to him to ſign an order for the baniſhment of one Mathews, a Welch prieſt, he refuſed, ſaying, *he had his hands too much in ſuch things already.*

"of his doctrine, that it was made by others "and not by himſelf:" And refuſing, at the deſire of the court, to go into voluntary baniſhment, they ſentenced him to be diſfranchiſed and baniſhed the juriſdiction. John Coggeſhall, one of the late Boſton deputies of this party, was diſfranchiſed for a ſpeech he made in the court, notwithſtanding his pleading his privilege as a member. And Aſpin, another of them, for ſigning a remonſtrance in favour of Wheelwright, was diſfranchiſed and baniſhed. William Baulſton and Edward Hutchinſon, two of the ſerjeants of Boſton, for ſigning the ſaid remonſtrance, were turned out of their places, diſfranchiſed and fined, the former in 20l. the latter in 40l. Hutchinſon acknowledging his fault had his fine remitted. The exiles found a friendly reception with Roger Williams beforementioned at Providence for the preſent, and afterwards purchaſed a ſettlement at * Rhode-Iſland

1637. diſfranchiſed and baniſhed. John Coggeſhall diſfranchiſed.

* As Neale, from whom I take this account, follows Cotton Mather, an apologiſt for theſe ſeverities, there is reaſon to ſuſpect his relation of partiality; if we had accounts on the other ſide to balance againſt this, I doubt not but theſe proceedings would appear in even a more unfavourable light. Of theſe firſt ſettlers in Rhode-Iſland he copies this character from Mather. Cotton Mather repreſents them as a generation of *Familiſts*, *Libertines*, *Antinomians* and *Quakers*, whoſe poſterity for want of ſchools of learning and a public miniſtry, are become ſo barbarous as not to be capable of ſpeaking either good Engliſh or good ſenſe. They have an extreme averſion to a public miniſtry, and would never till of late allow any ſuch to preach among them. This ſeems the language of animoſity and contempt; but I have before me a very different deſcription of theſe Rhode-Iſlanders drawn up by a more judicious pen in my opinion: "Several ſlips, torn from the "original government of New-England, planted themſelves "in

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Iſland of the natives, and fixed themſelves and families there.

1637. Ann Hutchinſon.

The treatment of a female, whoſe name was Ann Hutchinſon, was even more ſevere, and her fate more melancholy. The account Neale gives of her caſe exhibits much of the invective ſtyle throughout, being probably copied after the New England apologiſts, and her imputed errors in the higheſt colouring to palliate the ſeverities of the perſecuting prieſts and magiſtrates. Yet we find no crime laid to her charge, only ſpeculative opinions, which, if erroneous, more properly demanded the labours of the miniſters to confute and convince her, than the power of the magiſtrate to chaſtiſe. Her caſe is repreſented to be this:

The members of the church of Boſton met once a week, to repeat the ſermons they had heard at their public worſhip, and to debate upon the doctrines contained in them. Theſe meetings being peculiar to the men, ſome zealous women thought it might be uſeful for them to hold ſuch meetings among themſelves; accordingly this Ann Hutchinſon ſet up one in her houſe, grounding her practice on the apoſtle's

" in a new ſoil and ſpread over the country; ſuch was that " of Rhode-Iſland, whoſe inhabitants were driven out from " the Maſſachuſett colony (for that is the name by which the " government firſt erected in New-England was diſtinguiſhed) " for ſupporting the freedom of religious ſentiment, and main- " taining that the civil magiſtrate had no right over the ſpe- " culative opinions of mankind. Theſe liberal men founded " a city, called Providence, which they governed by their " own principles; and ſuch is the connection between juſtneſs " of principle and external proſperity; that the government " of Rhode-Iſland, though ſmall, is extremely populous and " flouriſhing." Guthrie.

tle's direction, for the elder women to teach the younger. The novelty of the undertaking, and the fame of the woman, quickly gained her a numerous audience, to hear her pray and repeat John Cotton's ſermons, and make her reflections upon them. She adopted and propagated the devoted opinions of the Antinomians, which (the aforenamed author ſaith) under a pretence of exalting the free grace of God deſtroyed the practical part of religion, and opened a door to all ſorts of licentiouſneſs. But this was not all—ſhe and her adherents inſinuated themſelves into families, and under a *ſhew* of humility and ſelf-denial, *craftily* undermined the reputation of the *beſt miniſters in the country, calling them *legaliſts*, †*Men that were not acquainted with the ſpirit of the goſpel, nay, that were unacquainted with Chriſt himſelf.* For theſe offences ſhe was ſummoned to appear before the court, by which ſhe was condemned to baniſhment, being ordered to depart the juriſdiction within ſix months. She was afterwards excommunicated, with eight or nine more.

1637.

Adopts Antinomian opinions.

Summoned before the court, and condemned to baniſhment.

Being thus driven from her habitation to ſeek a reſidence where ſhe could find one, ſhe re-

* Yet this author repreſents her as a great admirer of John Cotton, one of the beſt, if not the very beſt, miniſter at this time in New-England.

† That there was too much truth in this deſcription of theſe miniſters, we have reaſon to conclude from the foregoing abſtract of W. Coddington's letter to R. Fretwell, p. 332, where we find the prieſts day after day exerting their efforts and earneſt ſolicitations to procure a majority to baniſh her and the forementioned, which proceeding of theirs amounts to a demonſtration that they *were not acquainted with the ſpirit of the goſpel.*

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moved first to Rhode Island, and thence to one of the Dutch plantations called Hebgate, where soon after the Indians coming down, murdered her and her whole family, to the number of sixteen persons.

1637. Murdered by the Indians.

1646. [d] In 1646 they made a law or order for uniformity in religion, by imposing a penalty of 5s. a week upon such as came not to hear the established ministers, thus intrenching themselves against any further discoveries of truth and religion by this penal law.

But notwithstanding these harsh precautions to maintain an uniformity, they found other men influenced by religious considerations, to take the same liberty here they themselves had done in England, to dissent from their established religion, as they had done from that of the bishops. In the year 1650 some of the inhabitants adopted the opinion of the Anabaptists, withdrew from the established worship, and set up a separate meeting, whereupon Obadiah Holmes, one of the principal dissenters, was excommunicated, and then summoned to appear before the court at Plymouth, by which he and his associates were commanded to desist from their separation, and neither to ordain officers, nor to baptize, nor to break bread together, nor to meet on the first days of the week; but looking on this command as an arbitrary violation of their christian liberty, they pleaded, that in their separation they were actuated by the conviction of their own consciences, and that it was better to obey God than man.

1650. Some of the people turn Anabaptists and are persecuted.

John

[d] Besse.

John Clarke from Rhode Iſland, Obadiah Holmes aforeſaid, and John Crandall, ſometime after travelling into the juriſdiction of Maſſachuſets, were apprehended in their meeting at the houſe of William Witters of Lynn, on the firſt day of the week; and the conſtable who had them in cuſtody, in the afternoon carried them by compulſion to the public worſhip, where, ſignifying they could not join with them in their ſervice, they were next day brought before a magiſtrate, who committed them to Boſton priſon by the following mittimus:

John Clarke, Obadiah Holmes and John Crandall committed to priſon.

" By virtue hereof you are required to take " into your cuſtody from the conſtable of " Lynn or his deputy, the bodies of John " Clarke, Obadiah Holmes and John Crandall, " and them to keep until the next county " court to be held at Boſton, that they may " then and there anſwer to ſuch complaints as " may be alledged againſt them, for being " taken by the conſtable at a private meeting " at Lynn on the Lord's day, exerciſing among " themſelves, to whom divers of the town re- " paired, and joined with them, and that in " the time of public exerciſe of the worſhip " of God; as alſo for offenſively diſturbing " the peace of the congregation, at their " coming into the public meeting in the time " of prayer in the afternoon, and for ſaying " and manifeſting that the church of Lynn was " not conſtituted according to the order of our " Lord; and for ſuch other things as ſhall be " alledged againſt them concerning their ſe- " ducing and drawing aſide of others after " their erroneous judgment and practices, and " for ſuſpicion of having their hands in re-bap-

CHAP. XIV. 1651.

"tizing of one or more among us, as alſo for "neglecting or refuſing to give in ſufficient "ſecurity for their appearance at the ſaid court. "Hereof fail not at your peril. 22d of the 5th "month, 1651.

"Robert Bridges.

"To the keeper of the priſon at Boſton."

In a ſhort time after their commitment they were brought before the court and fined, viz. John Clarke 20l. John Crandall 5l. and Obadiah Holmes 30l.; and in caſe of failure or refuſal of payment to be whipped. The priſoners agreed not to pay their fines, but to abide the corporal puniſhment the court had ſentenced them to; but it is ſaid ſome of Clarke's friends paid the fine, without his conſent; Crandall was releaſed upon promiſe to appear at the next general court, and Holmes received thirty laſhes at the whipping poſt. After the execution of his ſentence, two of his friends who were attending him back to priſon took him by the hand into the market place, and praiſed the Almighty for his courage and conſtancy, for which they were ſummoned before the general court the next day, and fined each of them 40s. or to be whipped; they alſo refuſed to pay their fines, but theſe being paid for them they were diſmiſſed.

Holmes whipped, and two of his friends fined.

Remark. I imagine thoſe hiſtorians who have celebrated the Independents for originally adopting the doctrine of toleration muſt have been unacquainted with, or overlooked this part of their hiſtory. If their principles were really ſuch as we have ſeen them deſcribed, that every man had

had a right to direct his conſcience, and interpret the ſcriptures according to his own light, &c. we ſee their practice in England, and ſtill more here, as being more out of the reach of cenſure or controul, evidently militating againſt theſe principles. We ſee them, as well as others before them, for the ſake of uniformity, violating the natural rights of mankind, and puniſhing men, not for diſturbing the ſtate, but merely for differing in their ſentiments of religion, of which the following law, enacted at this time and on this occaſion, is a confirming evidence:

1651.

Law againſt Anabaptiſts.

"It is ordered by this court and authority "thereof, that if any perſon or perſons within "this juriſdiction ſhall either openly condemn "or oppoſe the baptizing of infants, or go "about ſecretly to ſeduce others from the ap-"probation or uſe thereof, or ſhall purpoſely "depart the congregation at the adminiſtration "of that ordinance, or ſhall deny the ordi-"nance of magiſtracy, or their lawful right "or authority to make war or puniſh the out-"ward breaches of the firſt table, and ſhall "appear to the court wilfully and obſtinately "to continue therein after due means of con-"viction, every ſuch perſon or perſons ſhall be "ſentenced to baniſhment."

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Anne Auſtin and Mary Fiſher, two of the People called Quakers, arrive at Boſton.—Order concerning them.—Their Books burned, and they themſelves impriſoned.—Stripped and ſearched for Tokens of being Witches.—Eight more Friends arrive at Boſton.—Firſt Law againſt Quakers.—Nicholas Upſal teſtifies againſt it, for which he is fined and baniſhed.—Anne Burdon, Mary Clarke, and three others whipped.—Addition to the Law. Lawrence and Caſſandra Southick and their Son Joſiah whipped.—William Shattock ſent to the Houſe of Correction, whipped and baniſhed.—Sarah Gibbons and Dorothy Waugh.—Thomas Harris impriſoned and cruelly whipped.—Second Law againſt Quakers.—Barbarous Treatment of William Brend.—The People diſcontented at this Cruelty.—The Magiſtrates endeavour to appeaſe them.—Prieſt Norton takes the Jailer's Part.—Samuel Shattock, Lawrence Southick and others committed to Priſon.—Their Letter to the Magiſtrates.

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BY this retroſpective view of the firſt inhabitants of New England, it is clearly manifeſt, that a perſecuting ſpirit had found admiſſion amongſt theſe refugees from perſecution, long before any of the people called Quakers came into thoſe parts, and did not originate from any neceſſity occaſioned by their extravagant principles or practices, as the New England apologiſts repreſent them.

We

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We have ſeen the inimical diſpoſition of the prieſts and ruling powers in England, and their inveterate prejudice toward this people; theſe being many of them of the independent claſs, doubtleſs kept up a correſpondence with their brethren in New England, and it is probable filled their letters of intelligence with invectives againſt the Quakers; for it is manifeſt they had received an unreaſonable prejudice againſt them before ever they ſaw their faces; and had condemned their principles as *heretical*, before they had any fair opportunity of knowing what theſe principles were.

1656.

But buoyed up as they were with the high notion of their own righteouſneſs, and the ultimate refinedneſs of their religion, they ſeemed fixed in the determination to give no admiſſion to any other doctrines, than thoſe which their magiſtrates, under the influence of their teachers and ſynods, thought proper to eſtabliſh. No ſooner was the intelligence given of two female Quakers, Anne Auſtin and Mary Fiſher, being arrived from Barbadoes, in the road before Boſton, than Richard Bellingham, the deputy governor, immediately ordered them to be detained on board, and diſpatched officers to ſearch their trunks and cheſts, who taking away about one hundred books, carried them aſhore. On this extraordinary occaſion, as Neal terms it, a council extraordinary was convened by the governor, as if to provide for the ſecurity of the ſtate againſt the alarming danger threatening it from the arrival of two harmleſs women, which iſſued the following order:

Anne Auſtin and Mary Fiſher arrive at Boſton.

"At

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1656.

" At a council held at Boſton 11th July,
" 1756.

" Whereas there are ſeveral laws long ſince " made and publiſhed in this juriſdiction, " bearing teſtimony againſt *hereticks* and *erro-* " *neous perſons*; yet notwithſtanding *Simon* " *Kempthorn* of *Charles-town*, maſter of the " ſhip *Swallow* of *Boſton*, hath brought into " this juriſdiction, from the iſland of *Barba-* " *does*, two women, who name themſelves, " *Anne*, the wife of one *Auſtin*, and *Mary Fiſher*, " being of that ſort of people commonly known " by the name of *Quakers*, who upon exami- " nation are found not only to be tranſgreſſors " of the former laws, but to hold very dange- " rous, *heretical* and blaſphemous opinions; " and they do alſo acknowledge that they came " here purpoſely to propagate their ſaid errors " and *hereſies*, bringing with them and ſpread- " ing here ſundry books, wherein are contained " moſt corrupt, *heretical* and blaſphemous " doctrines, contrary to the truth of the goſpel " *here* profeſſed amongſt us. The council there- " fore tendering the preſervation of the peace, " and truth enjoyed and profeſſed among the " churches of Chriſt in this country, do hereby " order:

" *Firſt*, That all ſuch corrupt books as ſhall " be found upon ſearch to be brought in and " ſpread by the aforeſaid perſons, be forthwith " burned and deſtroyed by the common execu- " tioner.

" *Secondly*, That the ſaid *Anne* and *Mary* be " kept in cloſe priſon, and none admitted com-

" munication

"munication with them without leave from the governor, deputy governor or two magiſtrates, to prevent the ſpreading their corrupt opinions, until ſuch time as they be delivered aboard of ſome veſſel, to be tranſported out of the country.

"*Thirdly*, The ſaid *Simon Kempthorn* is hereby enjoined, ſpeedily and directly, to tranſport or cauſe to be tranſported the ſaid perſons from hence to Barbadoes, from whence they came, he defraying all the charges of their impriſonment; and for the effectual performance hereof he is to give ſecurity in a bond of 100l. ſterling, and on his refuſal to give ſuch ſecurity he is to be committed to priſon till he do it."

Their books burned and themſelves impriſoned.

In conſequence of this order their books were burned by the hangman, and the ſaid two women were committed to priſon by the deputy governor as Quakers, upon no other proof than that one of them ſaid *thee* to him, where their confinement was ſo rigorous that no body was admitted to converſe with them, even through the window. Their pens, ink and paper were taken from them, and they were debarred the uſe of a candle by night. Next, in violation of every rule of decency, modeſty and humanity, they ſtripped them naked, under the pretence of ſearching for tokens of their being witches*, and miſuſed them in this ſearch in

Stripped and ſearched for witches.

* Theſe people, ſo ready to load the Quakers with reproachful epithets, and impute the original of their religion to a ſpirit of deluſion, were themſelves given up to ſtrong and fatal deluſions in reſpect to witchcraft, which ſome time after affected them ſo univerſally that the magiſtrates, prieſts and

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in a ſhameful and barbarous manner. They were not only debarred of light and converſation, but in a great meaſure of ſuſtenance alſo, which exciting the compaſſion of Nicholas Upſal, an ancient inhabitant of Boſton, he purchaſed of the jailer the liberty of ſending them proviſions, at the extravagant rate of 5s. per week, for fear they ſhould be ſtarved. After about five weeks confinement, one William Chiceſter, maſter of a veſſel, was bound in a bond of 100l. to carry them back to Barbadoes. And the jailer kept their beds and their bible for his fees.

A few days after the departure of theſe women, viz. on the 7th of the month called Auguſt,

and people of all ranks contributed to ſpread the miſchievous deception ſo far as to introduce general confuſion and diſmay; and after their hands were tied up from hanging of Quakers, they hanged one another for witchcraft and ſorcery on vague accuſations. Not by the miſguided fury of a ſuperſtitious populace; but with all the formalities of a ſolemn trial, by the hands of the common executioner nineteen perſons of both ſexes ſuffered death in little more than three months time; eleven more lay under condemnation, and one hundred and fifty in priſon untried. Moſt of theſe unhappy perſons aſſerted their innocence of the matters laid to their charge to the laſt, many of them appear to have been of reputable lives and circumſtance in the world. And the principal tokens of faſcination recorded in their hiſtory appear to be in the proſecutors, the judges and the jury, who could condemn to death ſo many innocent perſons upon ſuch idle tales and ſenſeleſs abſurdities as were given in evidence againſt them; and after all, when the people were ſo far reſtored to their ſenſes as to make public recantation of their erroneous proceedings, their juſtice went no farther than words. The accuſed perſons, being ſome of them people of property, had all their effects ſeized by the officers, of which afterwards, even thoſe, whoſe innocency was acknowledged, could never recover any, or but a very inconſiderable part.

Neal

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Auguſt, eight others of the ſame perſuaſion, namely, [d] Chriſtopher Holder, Thomas Thurſton, William Brend, John Copeland, Mary Prince, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Witherhead and Dorothy Waugh, arrived at Boſton from London, in a ſhip whereof Robert Locke was maſter. He would not ſuffer them to go on ſhore, till he had delivered a liſt of their names to the governor, who ſent officers on board to ſearch their boxes, cheſts and trunks for books, and to bring thoſe eight, together with Richard Smith, an inhabitant of Long Iſland, before the court, then ſitting at Boſton. After ſome examination they were ſentenced to baniſhment, and to be detained in priſon till they might be ſent back in the ſame ſhip, the maſter whereof was required to give ſecurity to take them back at his own charge, which he refuſing, was committed to priſon, but after ſome days confinement, fearing the loſs of his voyage, he complied. They were detained in priſon about eleven weeks, the jailer being empowered to ſearch their boxes, &c. as often as he ſaw meet, for pen, ink and paper, papers and books, and take them away. While they were in priſon a law was made to puniſh them, being the firſt general law made againſt *Quakers*.

Eight more friends arrive at Boſton.

By this law it was enacted, that if any maſter or commander of any ſhip, bark, &c. ſhould thenceforth bring into any harbour in their juriſdiction any Quakers, he ſhould pay the ſum of 100l. to the treaſurer of the country, or be impriſoned 'till the payment ſhould be made or ſecured. That any Quaker coming into the country ſhould be committed to the houſe

First law againſt Quakers.

[d] Beſſe.

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houſe of correction, ſeverely whipped, conſtantly kept to hard labour, and debarred of all intercourſe with any perſon whatever. Importers of Quakers' books or writings, or whoever ſhould diſperſe or conceal ſuch, to be fined 5l. If any inhabitants of the Colony defended the books or opinions of the Quakers, they were to be fined 40s.; for the ſecond offence 4l. and for the third to be baniſhed.

Remark.

The uncharitable and unchriſtian temper, which actuated theſe colonial legiſlators, is not more obvious in the ſeverity of the penalties enacted againſt this body of people and their adherents, than in the illiberal, reviling expreſſions and opprobrious nicknames whereby they are deſcribed as a curſed *ſect of hereticks, blaſphemous hereticks, who hold deviliſh opinions:* Such terms of reproach are by men of candour and moderation generally looked upon not ſo much a picture of the qualities of thoſe they are applied to, as of the intemperate bitterneſs of their ſpirits, who debaſe themſelves ſo far as to make uſe thereof.

Nicholas Upſhal teſtifies againſt the law,

The law being proclaimed by beat of drum in the ſtreets of Boſton, Nicholas Upſhall aforeſaid, being affected thereat, publicly teſtified his diſapprobation, for which being next morning ſent for to the general court, he told them, *The execution of that law would be a forerunner of a judgment upon the country, and therefore in love and tenderneſs, which he bore to the people and place, deſired them to take heed, leaſt they were found fighters againſt God.* * For this he, though one

* Neal, notwithſtanding his laying claim to the character of impartiality, on this and many other occaſions, betrays a manifeſt

one of their Church-members, and of a blameleſs converſation, was fined twenty pounds, and three pounds more for not coming to church, from which he had withdrawn, out of a conſcientious diſſent from a religion without charity. CHAP. XV. 1656.

They next baniſhed him their juriſdiction, allowing him, who was an infirm ancient man, but one month for his departure, driving him into exile in the winter. Application being made to Endicot for a mitigation of his fine, he rudely anſwered, *I will not 'bate him a groat.* He removed to Rhode-iſland, where he met with that hoſpitality and compaſſion from an Indian Prince, and a Pagan, which was refuſed from his countrymen, pretending to refined chriſtianity, who kindly invited him to fix his reſidence with him, and he would make him a warm houſe, adding his admiration at the *Engliſhmen's notion of the divine being, who dealt ſo cruelly with one another about their God.* for which he is fined and baniſhed.

——— *Pudet hæc opprobria nobis,*
Et dici potuiſſe, et non potuiſſe refelli.

That ſuch reproaches ſtain the chriſtian name,
And ſtain with reaſon, is the chriſtian's ſhame.

The

manifeſt partiality in favour of this government, and thus apologizes for their cruel treatment of this ancient man. "This was looked upon as an attack upon the legiſlature, "which might be attended with fatal conſequences; for if "people might arraign the laws of their country in ſuch an "open manner, the authority of the government would be "quickly deſtroyed."

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1657. Ann Burden going to Boſton to recover ſome debts is impriſoned and baniſhed.

[e] The firſt of this people who came to New-England, after the making of this law, was Ann Burden, widow, who although no preacher, nor adminiſtering any occaſion of offence, or any cauſe of being termed a diſturber of church or ſtate, being an honeſt inoffenſive woman, coming over on the reaſonable errand of recovering or gathering in ſome debts due to her in that country; yet ſhe was taken up, and carried before Bellingham, the deputy governor, who upon examining her, although it was manifeſt, ſhe had lawful buſineſs, and he could find no fault or occaſion of offence in her, only as ſhe was a Quaker, he ſaid that *ſhe muſt abide their law*, and committed her to priſon, where ſhe was detained a quarter of a year, though ſick at the ſame time. During her impriſonment, ſome of her acquaintance had procured of her debts in goods to the value of about forty pounds, which, when ſhe was ordered to be ſent away, ſhe deſired liberty to carry with her to Barbadoes, to be diſpoſed of, being not fit for the Engliſh market; this reaſonable requeſt was denied her, and a maſter of a ſhip compelled to carry her to England, againſt her will and without her goods. And when he enquired who ſhould pay for her paſſage, the magiſtrates bade him *take ſo much of her goods as would ſatisfy him:* [f] Which however he would not do, having ſo much dependance on her honeſty, that though he could not compel her to pay, as ſhe was ſent away without her own conſent, yet that ſhe would not let him be a loſer, and he was not diſappointed in his expectation.

[e] Beſſe, v. ii. p. 181.

[f] Beſſe. Sewel.

pectation. But after her departure, the officers took away from the perſon intruſted to convey her goods to Barbadoes, as many as were worth 6l. 10s. for her paſſage, which not they, but herſelf had paid: 7s. for boat-hire, although the maſter had offered to take her in his own boat, and 14s. for the jailer. Thus baniſhed, and ſpoiled of a conſiderable part of her property, and deprived of the poſſeſſion and diſpoſing of the reſidue, no part whereof had come to her hands ſeveral years after, if at all.

Mary Clark.

[g] The next of the Quakers who came to Boſton, and ſuffered the extremity of the law, was Mary Clark, from London, who came thither under a religious concern to warn thoſe perſecutors to deſiſt from their iniquity. She delivered her meſſage to mercileſs men, who rewarded her with twenty ſtripes of a * three corded whip on her naked back, and detained her in priſon about twelve weeks.

Mary Clark, Chriſtopher Holder and John Copeland ſeverely whipped.

[h] Chriſtopher Holder and John Copeland, with others who had been baniſhed, under a firm perſuaſion of duty and full aſſurance of faith in divine ſupport, under whatſoever ſuffering they might be permitted to paſs through, having returned, were whipped with thirty ſtripes each, the executioner meaſuring his ground, and inflicting the ſtrokes with all his ſtrength, which cut their fleſh ſo ſeverely, that a woman fainted away at the ſight. After this they were kept three days without food or water, ſo cloſe that none might ſpeak with them, lodging on the bare boards, without bed or ſtraw.

New England judged.

[g] Beſſe, v. ii. p. 181.

* The cords of theſe whips were uſually as thick as a man's little finger, and the ſtick ſometimes ſo long that the executioner made uſe of both his hands to ſtrike with it.

[h] Sewel.

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ſtraw. In this miſerable confinement, they remained nine weeks, without fire, in the cold winter ſeaſon. Richard Dowdney was taken up at Dedham, and brought to Boſton, and though he had not been there before, was alſo puniſhed with thirty cruel ſtripes, and ſent away with the former two, with threats of *cutting off their ears* in caſe they returned, which threats they afterwards made good.

1657. Richard Dowdney whipped.

At the general court held in Boſton the 14th of October, this year, they made the following addition to the former law: "That if any perſon ſhould entertain any Quaker or Quakers "or other blaſphemous hereticks, knowing them "ſo to be, every ſuch perſon ſhould forfeit to "the country 40s. for every hour's entertaining "or concealment, and be committed to priſon "till the forfeiture be fully paid and ſatisfied. "If any Quakers ſhould preſume, after they had "once ſuffered the law, to return into their "juriſdiction, if a male, he ſhould have one of "his ears cut off for the firſt offence; the other "ear for the ſecond offence; if a female to be "ſeverely whipped for the firſt offence; the "like puniſhment to be repeated for the ſecond. "Both male and female moreover to be ſent to "the houſe of correction, and kept to hard labour till they can be ſent away at their own "charge. For the third offence their tongues "were to be bored through with an hot iron. "That every Quaker ariſing from among themſelves ſhould be dealt with, and ſuffer the "like puniſhments as the law provides againſt "foreign Quakers."

Addition to the law.

1658. Theſe ſeveral perſecuting laws were not ſuffered to lie as a dead letter, but the ſame wrathful

wrathful and vindictive ſpirit, which had dictated them, was manifeſted in the unmerciful execution thereof: No age, no ſex, no circumſtance could move theſe unmerciful perſecutors to compaſſion; but the objects of their ſpoiling, impriſoning or whipping furniſhed them almoſt daily employ. To recite at full length all the inſtances of their cruelty would be tedious and diſguſting; a ſummary review will evidence the truth of this deſcription.

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[i] The ſeverities already inflicted on the members of this ſociety, had ſo affected many of the inhabitants of this colony, that they withdrew from their public aſſemblies, and met on the firſt day of the week to worſhip quietly by themſelves, for which they were fined 5s. per week, and impriſoned. Particularly Laurence and Caſſandra Southick, an aged couple (who in the laſt year had been impriſoned and fined for entertaining Chriſtopher Holder and John Copeland) with their ſon Joſiah, were ſent to the houſe of correction, whipped in like manner as thoſe before mentioned, and had their goods taken to the value of 4l. 15s. for not coming to church. For the ſame cauſe Edward Harnet, aged ſixty-nine, and his wife, ſeventy-three years of age, had 37s. taken from them, without regard to their circumſtances, which were but mean, or their age, which would naturally excite tenderneſs.

Laurence and Caſſandra Southick and their ſon Joſiah whipped and fined.

Edward Harnet.

William Shattock a ſhoe-maker, [k] being found on a firſt day of the week, quietly ſitting alone in his own houſe, in the time of their worſhip, and being too poor to pay the 5s. a week, was ſent

William Shattock ſent to the houſe of correction, whipped and baniſhed.

[i] Beſſe, vol. ii. p. 184. [k] J. Whiting.

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ſent to the houſe of correction, cruelly whipped, and then kept to hard labour, the profits whereof the jailer detained to his own uſe, leaving his family, a wife and four ſmall children, who had nothing but their labour to ſubſiſt on, in want. At laſt he had only three days time aſſigned him, to depart out of their juriſdiction, to which hard condition he was neceſſitated, in order to be in a capacity to ſupport himſelf and family, to ſubmit. Sarah Gibbons and Dorothy Waugh, for ſpeaking a few words at the concluſion of one of their lectures in Boſton, were alſo ſent to the houſe of correction, kept three days without any food; they were then cruelly whipped, and kept three days longer without victuals, although they offered to purchaſe them. Sarah, when brought before Endicott and the court, at the end of the firſt three days, remonſtrating againſt the jailer's cruelty, received no redreſs from this tyrannical governor, but an ill-natured reply, that *he mattered not*.

Sarah Gibbons and Dorothy Waugh.

1658. Thomas Harris impriſoned and cruelly whipped.

[k] Thomas Harris, of Barbadoes, in the public meeting place at Boſton, after the prieſt had done, having warned the people of *the dreadful, terrible day of the Lord, which was coming upon that town and country*, was preſently hauled out by the hair of the head, and ſent to priſon, where he was ſhut up in a cloſe room, excluded like the reſt from all company. Next day he was cruelly whipped, and then ſhut up eleven days more, five of which he was kept without bread, becauſe he refuſed to work for the jailer, and probably had been ſtarved, had not ſome humane people privately conveyed him ſome food through the window by night. Reduced to

[k] Beſſe, vol. ii. p. 185.

to great weakneſs by long faſting and the torture of whipping, the jailer inured to cruelty and unfeeling barbarity, inſiſted on his working (although diſabled by his abuſive treatment) and upon his refuſal, gave him, weak as he was, twenty-two blows with a pitched rope, and ſome days after fifteen ſtripes with a three corded whip*.

On

* I think Neal's relation of this poor man's caſe demands ſome animadverſions. "Harris (ſays he) like the reſt of his "brethren, would not ſtrike a ſtroke in priſon, *he would ſuf-* "*fer any thing, but do nothing;* nay ſo ſtubborn were he and "his friends that they would neither pay the fines that were "laid upon them, nor be at the charge of tranſporting them-"ſelves out of the country." This author profeſſes to give an * IMPARTIAL account of the affairs of New England, to treat the † MISTAKES which the government fell into with regard to the Quakers and Anabaptiſts with freedom. But I think this and many other paſſages of his work, nay the general turn of expreſſion through the whole narration of their treatment of the Quakers, and Anabaptiſts alſo, betrays a partial bias. Small blemiſhes (for argument's ſake admitting them ſuch) on one ſide exaggerated with ſevere acrimoniouſneſs of expreſſion, and the greateſt enormities which human nature can be capable of, barbarous cruelty and inhumanity, on the other, ſoftened in palliative terms, are no inſtances of impartiality; but manifeſt the writer to be under the influence of an undue prepoſſeſſion in favour of a party. The forecited reflections appear to me evidently partial and unfair. Theſe original Quakers moved in a ſphere ſuperior to the walk, or even the conception of, the perſecuting profeſſors of religion, however oſtentatious, or that of the wiſe men of this world, however puffed up by their knowledge, without charity: It was their ſolicitous and unremitted endeavour to trace out the plain way to heaven through all attendant afflictions and tribulations on earth, even that way which the vulture's eye hath not ſeen nor any ravenous beaſt, nor perſecuting ſpirit trodden in; but wherein the way-faring man though a fool ſhall not err. Careful and circumſpect to do no evil, and ſincerely diſpoſed to

 obey

* Title page. † Preface.

CHAP. XV. 1658. On the 20th of 3d month this year, another law was made, which as a ſpecimen of the temper,

obey the will of God, as the means of finding peace and acceptance with him; in obedience to his requirings, as they in the ſincerity of their hearts believed, they were engaged to go to and fro, to propagate righteouſneſs, and to convince the profeſſors of chriſtianity of the inſecurity of truſting in any profeſſion of *religion without holineſs*. Conſcious of the purity and diſintereſtedneſs of their motive, and in the diſcharge of duty, endeavouring to keep a conſcience void of offence toward God and toward man, they juſtly thought theſe New-England laws founded in injuſtice, and the penalties inflicted with inhumanity, a palpable infringement of the univerſal laws of God and nature: They knew themſelves to be innocent of juſt offence to God or man; in this view to be active in their own puniſhment, they thought a tacit acquieſcence and confeſſion of guilt, which their conſciences witneſſed they were free from: As faithful martyrs they patiently *ſuffered any thing*, that unreaſonable men inveſted with arbitrary power might be permitted to lay upon them, for their open teſtimony to the truth, or againſt error; *but they would do nothing* that might imply an acknowledgement of guiltineſs of any crime, which they believed themſelves in no degree guilty of; And what in this conduct is juſtly blameable? It was the only way left them under the adminiſtration of unequal rule to aſſert their innocence, to keep the reputation of that truth they maintained, their converſation and their conſciences unſpotted, which was a concern nearer to their hearts, than to reſcue their bodies from torture.

This author ſhould have firſt demonſtrated the laws to be reaſonable and juſt, before he cenſured theſe men for declining a voluntary ſubmiſſion thereto; whereas the unreaſonableneſs thereof was ſo palpable, that he cannot help owning it in different places: Yet from his manner of expreſſion, it ſeems as if it admitted of no diſpute, that it was both reaſonable and equitable that they ſhould pay the fines impoſed upon them for no other crime than their religious diſſent from the eſtabliſhment, and abſenting from their public worſhip, which to have voluntarily done, would be a tacit acknowledgement of error in their diſſent. He ſhould have proved this a crime, before he condemned their non-compliance with the puniſhment; but he

per, the meaſure of charity and urbanity actu- CHAP. XV.
ating this legiſlature, take at length as follows. 1658.

"At a Court at Boſton the 20th of May, 1658.

"That *Quakers* and ſuch ACCURSED HERE- Second law againſt Quakers.
"TICKS, ariſing among ourſelves, may be dealt
"with according to their deſerts, and their * *peſti-*
"*lent errors and practices* may be ſpeedily pre-
"vented,

he could not do this without condemning their perſecutors alſo, whom he juſtifies under the ſame circumſtance. To tax them with ſtubbornneſs in refuſing ſo unjuſt a requiſition as to pay the charges of their own tranſportation out of the country, is ſo abſurd, ſo contrary to reaſon and every natural and humane rule that it needs no refutation; and yet he cenſures them for this, as if it were their indiſpenſable moral duty. He goes on, "They were as perverſe and obſtinate in pri-
"ſon, as out of it, inſomuch that the jailer was forced to
"lay the caſe before the magiſtrates, who ordered him to
"whip them twice a week, &c. But Harris and his friends
"were not to be tamed by theſe methods, but reſolved to die
"rather than ſubmit, and one of them was almoſt whipped to
"death upon this order; but when Harris had ſuffered a ſe-
"cond whipping, ſome of his friends paid his charges, and
"ſo he was diſmiſſed. And this became afterwards the
"uſual practice of the Quakers not to pay their own fees,
"but to ſuffer others to do it for them."

* Peſtilent errors and practices, diabolical doctrines.] Theſe are no more than hard names, without application or other meaning, than that the framers had imbibed an intemperate and undeſerved bitterneſs of ſpirit againſt this people, without due examination into their principles or practices. If they were ſo peſtilent, pernicious and diabolical, they were the more eaſily expoſed and refuted. And their paſtors (ſo termed) had manifeſted a more becoming zeal, in exerciſing chriſtian endeavours to preſerve their flocks from infection, by pious exhortations, by expoſing the ill conſequence of their *pernicious ways*, and refuting their diabolical doctrines, than by applying to the ſecular power to repreſs by violence, doctrines which they were unable or too idle to refute by argument.

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" vented, it is hereby ordered, as an addition to " the former laws againſt Quakers, That every " ſuch perſon or perſons profeſſing their *pernici-* " *ous ways*, by ſpeaking, writing, or meeting on " the Lord's day, or at any other time, to " ſtrengthen themſelves, or ſeduce others to their " *diabolical doctrines*, ſhall after due means of " conviction incur the penalty enſuing, that is, " every perſon ſo meeting ſhall pay to the coun- " try for every time 10s.; and every one ſpeak- " ing in ſuch meeting ſhall pay 5l. a-piece; and " in caſe any ſuch perſons had been puniſhed by " ſcourging or whipping the firſt time, accord- " ing to the former laws, they ſhall ſtill be kept at " work in the houſe of correction till they put " in ſecurity, by two ſufficient men, that they " ſhall not vent their hateful errors, nor uſe their " ſinful practices; or elſe ſhall depart the juriſ- " diction at their own charges: And if any of " them return again, then each ſuch perſon ſhall " incur the penalties of the laws formerly made " for ſtrangers."

Barbarous treatment of William Brend.

But of all the inſtances of barbarous cruelty that in the records of this furious government diſguſt the tender feelings of humanity, the treatment of William Brend is ſcarcely exceeded, if not unparalleled, in the hiſtory of civilized government.

In the latter part of the 5th month this year, William Brend and William Leddra at the houſe of Robert Adams in Newbury, by deſire of the inhabitants, had a conference with a prieſt, in the preſence of one captain Geriſh, who had promiſed them protection from ſuffering for that conference; yet becauſe they did not comply with his orders to depart the town immediately,

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ly †, he violated his engagement in ſending them by a conſtable to Salem, where being interrogated by the magiſtrates, *Whether they were Quakers?* they anſwered, *We are in ſcorn called ſo.* Then it was objected to them, *that they held dangerous errors, as denying Chriſt, who ſuffered death at Jeruſalem, and the ſcriptures.* Boldly contradicting this charge, they aſſerted that, *They owned Jeſus Chriſt, who ſuffered death at Jeruſalem, and owned the ſcriptures alſo.* Notwithſtanding their denial of this falſe accuſation, and the confeſſion of the magiſtrates, that they found no evil in them, they were committed to priſon there, and thence tranſmitted to the houſe of correction in Boſton, where they were required to work; but they being not free to ſubmit to this requiſition, as being convicted of no crime, the jailer, who ſought his gains from their labour, would allow them no victuals, though they offered to pay for them, telling them, *it was not their money, but their work which he wanted.* Five days they were kept from food, and then received twenty ſtripes with the three-corded whip. Some time after he let them know, *they were at liberty to depart, upon paying their fees, and hiring the marſhal to conduct them out of the country.* This unreaſonable condition they were not free to comply with, but ſignified their willingneſs to accept their liberty, if it were freely granted.

Next day this moſt cruel and inhuman jailer put William Brend, a man in years, in irons, neck and heels ſo cloſe together, that there was only room for the lock that faſtened them, and kept

† Quere, How far was this different from the tenet, held in abhorrence by all Proteſtants, That no faith is to be kept with hereticks?

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kept him in this painful poſture from five in the morning till after nine at night, above ſixteen hours. Next morning he inſiſted on William's falling to work for him, diſabled by the preceding cruel treatment, which he refuſed to do, whereupon this * brutal jailer took a pitched rope, about an inch thick, and gave him twenty blows over his back and arms with all his ſtrength till the rope untwiſted: Then he fetched another rope thicker and ſtronger, and with the utmoſt violence, foaming at the mouth with paſſion to diſtraction, laid on his bruiſed body fourſcore and ſeventeen blows more, by the report of other priſoners, who with grief and compaſſion beheld this cruel abuſe of an honeſt man, who had done nothing worthy of bonds, till his ſtrength and his rope failed him, and the poor man's back and arms were ſo reduced to one gore of blood, that the ſign of a particular blow could not be diſtinguiſhed, he deſiſted not; and even then deſiſted with paſſionate menaces of repeating equal cruelty the next day. But he had already gone too far; an higher power, who limits the raging ſea,

* What is moſt amazing, this jailer, ſo deſtitute of every ſymptom of humanity, was a pretender to religion, and was careful that very morning, after ſatiating his vengeance on this poor man, to addreſs himſelf to his *morning prayer*; but to what purpoſe, the prophet *Iſaiah*, in the name of the Almighty, in the following ſtrong reproof, hath plainly declared, "*When* "*you make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full* "*of blood.* Such a religion afforded juſt grounds for the following reproof of Humphrey Norton, delivered at the cloſe of one of their lectures: "Verily, this is the ſacrifice which the "Lord accepts not; for while with the ſame ſpirit that ye "ſin, ye preach, and pray and ſing, that ſacrifice is an abo- "mination to the Lord;" for which he received his fifteen laſhes inſtead of ten.

ſea, ſaying, "Hitherto ſhalt thou go, and no far-"ther," here ſet bounds to the raging fury of this barbarous executor of vengeance, by raiſing help from an unexpected quarter.

I have already appriſed my readers, that in my remarks on the preſent ruling powers, I mean not to throw reflections on any body of people; but only perſecutors and fomenters of perſecution. I am perſuaded that, amidſt too much inſincerity in the profeſſion of religion, while the graſping at undue exerciſe of temporal authority was the end in view, there were multitudes among the independents, who were more ſincerely religious, and ſecretly regretted the extremities, to which theſe rulers ſtretched their authority. In the preſent caſe, the perſevering inhumanity of this jailer towards this inoffenſive ſufferer had ſo far exhauſted his natural ſtrength, that he fell down under his hands ſo extremely weakened, that for ſome time he loſt his ſight, hearing and feeling, turned quite cold, and had about him all the ſymptoms of a dying man.

The people diſcontented at this cruelty.

The noiſe of this cruelty getting abroad, the murmurs of the people broke out into a general outcry againſt it, which cauſed the governor to ſend his ſurgeon to the priſon to examine his condition, who, deſpairing of his recovery, reported, that *the fleſh would rot off his bones, ere the bruiſed parts could be brought to digeſt.* This report exaſperated the people to that degree, that the magiſtrates, to appeaſe them and prevent a tumult, ſet up a paper at the meeting-houſe doors and other public places, ſignifying their diſlike of this abominable cruelty; and that *the jailer ſhould be dealt with at the next court day.* But this paper was ſoon after taken down at the inſtigation of their chief prieſt, John Norton, a principal

The magiſtrates endeavour to appeaſe them.

Prieſt Norton takes the jailer's part.

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principal promoter of the perſecution from the beginning, who on this occaſion manifeſted himſelf as deſtitute of common humanity, as of chriſtian charity, in the following cruel, unjuſt and unmeaning parallel between the ſufferer and the pretended cauſe of his ſuffering, *William Brend* (ſaid he) *endeavoured to beat our goſpel ordinances black and blue; if then he be beaten black and blue, it is but juſt upon him, and I will appear in his behalf that did it.* The ridiculous abſurdity of this nonſenſical reflection would only merit contempt, if the inveterate bitterneſs thereof, exciting to cruelty upon cruelty, did not extort abhorrence. It is therefore no cauſe of admiration, that under ſuch teachers the magiſtrates, prieſt-ridden, and ſtimulated to rage by their inflammatory diſcourſes, were ſo prompt to perſecution; that blind zealots, led by blind guides, ſhould with their leaders fall into the ditch of error, in treating with avenging wrath the promulgators of truth.

In the mean time William Brend miraculouſly recovering, the diſſatisfaction of the people dying away, and the magiſtrates recovering from the panick into which the apprehenſion of his dying by the jailer's cruelty had thrown them, perſiſted in the ſame line of cruelty; inſtead of calling the jailer to account as they had promiſed, they ſtrengthened his hands by the following order: "That the jailer, if the Quakers refuſed to work, "ſhould whip them twice a week, the firſt time "with *ten* laſhes, the next time with *fifteen*, and "ſo each time with *three* more till they would "work;" but to preſerve ſome appearance of diſpoſition to moderate the jailer's fury, they ordered that he ſhould warn two conſtables to overſee

overſee the execution. This order was executed and exceeded upon William Leddra *, Thomas Harris, Humphrey Norton and John Rouſe [1], who

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[1] Sewel.

* Neale goes on, (ſee note on T. Harris) "They were as "perverſe and obſtinate in priſon as out of it, inſomuch that "the jailer was forced to lay the caſe before the magiſtrates, "&c &c." as in the note referred to.

"One of them was almoſt whipped to death."] This was William Brend, above mentioned, whoſe particular grievous ſuffering he could hardly be ignorant of, as he quotes *Biſhop's New Eng. judged*, frequently, and conſequently had read it, whoſe account correſponds with the preceding recital: Yet he briefly paſſes it over thus: "William Brend and William "Leddra were ſent to the houſe of correction at Boſton; and "having received ten laſhes, were told they might have their "liberty, *paying their fees, and hiring the marſhal to convey "them out of the country*; but they refuſed to depart, and "were therefore whipped more ſeverely, till ſome of their "friends laid down the money, and ſo they were diſ-"charged."

After reviewing my foregoing relation of the caſe of W. Brend, as I find it related by W. Sewel, Joſ. Beſſe, and in *New Eng. judged*, which all in the general correſpond, and which laſt was publiſhed near the time of theſe tranſactions, and the veracity thereof never called in queſtion, that I have heard of: On comparing this narration of Neale's therewith, we plainly diſcover the partiality of his pen, paſſing over in ſilence, or ſlightly noticing in ſoftened general terms, all the inſtances of their barbarity which ſhock humanity, to avoid expoſing the memory of the perpetrators thereof to the infamy naturally attendant on ſuch actions, or even to ſcreen them from every imputation of guilt or blame, his relation bearing a complexion as if the unhappy ſufferers were alone blameable. If his ſtate of the caſe is not evidently very partial and unfair throughout, let the reader judge upon the compariſon thereof with the account in the treatiſe, entitled *New England judged*, which he quotes in marginal references almoſt from page to page as his authority. Neale ſays, "after having received "ten laſhes they were told they might have their liberty, "&c." which leads us naturally to imagine this offer was made them immediately after the whipping, which was not the

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who each of them received the firſt time fifteen ſtripes inſtead of ten; but we have no account of either jailer or conſtable being called to

the caſe as repreſented in that treatiſe: * "Having whipped "them, the jailer locked them up in a cloſe room, dark and "without air, in the hot ſummer ſeaſon, from food and friend, "till the fourth day following, (two days) then he told them "they were *clear*, paying their fees (who owed him none) and "hiring the marſhal to convey them out of the country," (which they were not free to do, as having done nothing worthy of bonds or baniſhment.) But if they were *clear*, having ſuffered the penalty of their unauthoriſed inhoſpitable law, what right had this hypocritical jailer to inflict further puniſhment upon them? They were now in the moſt favourable light on his ſide, ſimply his debtors for a trifle, and what right could he, or the moſt ſtrenuous apologiſt for him, claim beyond that of detaining them in priſon for their debt unpuniſhed, unreſtrained from food, which they were willing to purchaſe but were not ſuffered. But after this, his declaring them *clear*, it was that William Brend *was whipped almoſt to death*, as before deſcribed. Neale's mutilated account of this tranſaction is to me a plain evidence of his partiality: He ſays, "one of them was almoſt whipped to death:" He had read Biſhop's account, Why not tell who it was and how? Why paſs over the ſufferings of William Brend, when he undertakes to relate it in ſo curſory a manner, but to cover the cruelty of his perſecutors and endeavour to fix a ſtigma on the poor man as the author of his own ſufferings? "They "refuſed to depart, and were therefore whipped more "ſeverely." This, by our account, is a falſe ſtate of the caſe: They did not refuſe, but ſignified their willingneſs to depart, if they might freely; but this was refuſed *them*, except on unreaſonable terms, they could not in conſcience comply with; neither can I diſcover upon what authority (for he cites none) he aſſerts "that their friends laid down "the money, and ſo they were diſcharged." The authority he generally quotes ſays no ſuch thing as to William Brend, and it is ſo contrary to the practiſe of theſe, I underſtand by *his friends*, that I ſhall believe it a miſrepreſentation, till I have ſtronger evidence of its truth than D. Neale's bare aſſertion.

The

* New-England judged, p. 64, 65.

to account for tranſgreſſing the limitation of their order. CHAP. XV.

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About this time there was a meeting at the houſe of Nicholas Phelps, in the woods, about five miles from Salem, and upon the information of one Butter, the ſix following reſidents were taken up and committed to priſon, Samuel Shattock, Laurence Southick, and Caſſandra his wife, Joſiah their ſon, Samuel Gaſkin and Joſhua Buffum, who being kept cloſe in the houſe

Samuel Shattock, Laurence Southick, &c. committed to priſon.

The like account we have in Harris's caſe; "Some of his "friends paid his charges, and ſo he was diſmiſſed. And "this became afterwards the uſual practiſe of the Quakers, "not to pay their own fees, but to ſuffer others to do it "for them." And he quotes *New-England judged* for his authority; but how juſtly will beſt appear from the tranſcript of the paſſage in that treatiſe referred to, which is as follows: "Which bloody cruelty, (viz. of repeated whipping) ſo "affected the inhabitants of Boſton, to ſee new ſtripes on "old ſores, and ſome of the old ſores upon them, when they "came to be whipped the ſecond time; that they paid the "charge required for them, as they uſually did, as to all "that were in priſon, that they might be ſet free." Now by the term, HIS FRIENDS, is generally underſtood, and I ſuppoſe he would have us underſtand, that others of the Quakers paid their charges to redeem them from priſon; whereas it is plain, that George Biſhop means ſome compaſſionate inhabitants of Boſton (not Quakers) of whom many were diſcontented, and aſhamed of the cruelty of their rulers, and out of commiſeration to the unhappy and innocent ſufferers, paid their fees, which they were not free to pay themſelves, to reſcue them from under the hands of men inſatiate in cruelty: But the Quakers looking upon the payment thereof, as giving away the cauſe of innocency, neither paid them for themſelves, nor one for another, although they ſympathiſed in each others ſufferings; but indeed they ſhewed their ſympathy but badly, if they could pay at all, that they let them be whipped almoſt to death before they interfered in their favour. Further, this repreſentation of Neale's inſinuates an appearance of inſincerity, the very reverſe of their real character.

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houſe of correction, during the heat of the ſummer, from their huſbandry, after three weeks confinement, repreſented their caſe to the court in the following letter:

" This to the Magiſtrates at the Court in Salem.

" Friends,

Letter from the priſoners to the magiſtrates.

" Whereas it was your pleaſure to commit us, whoſe names are under-written, to the houſe of correction in Boſton, although the Lord, the righteous Judge of Heaven and Earth, is our witneſs that we have done nothing worthy of ſtripes or of bonds; and we being committed by your court to be dealt withal as the law provides for foreign Quakers, as ye pleaſe to term us; and having ſome of us ſuffered your law and pleaſures, now that which we do expect is, That whereas we have ſuffered your law, ſo now to be ſet free by the ſame law, as your manner is with ſtrangers, and not to put us in upon the account of one law, and execute another law upon us, of which according to your own manner we were never convicted, as the law expreſſes: If you had ſent us upon the account of your new law, we ſhould have expected the jailer's order to have been on that account, which that it was not appears by the warrant which we have, and the puniſhment which we bare, as four of us were whipped, among whom was one that had formerly been whipped; ſo now, according to your former law, friends, let it not be a ſmall thing in your eyes, the expoſing as much as in you lies, our families to ruin.

Its

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" It's not unknown to you, the ſeaſon and the " time of the year, for thoſe that live of huſ- " bandry, and what their cattle and families " may be expoſed unto; and alſo ſuch as live " on trade: We know, if the ſpirit of Chriſt " did dwell and rule in you theſe things would " take impreſſion on your ſpirits. What our " lives and converſations have been in that " place is well known; and what we now ſuffer " for, is much for falſe reports, and unground- " ed jealouſies of *hereſy* and *ſedition*. Theſe " things lie upon us to lay before you: As for " our parts, we have true peace and reſt in the " Lord in all our ſufferings, and are made " willing in the power and ſtrength of God, " freely to offer up our lives in this cauſe of " God, for which we ſuffer: Yea, and we do " find (through grace) the enlargements of God " in our impriſoned ſtate, to whom alone we " commit ourſelves and families, for the diſ- " poſing of us according to his infinite wiſdom " and pleaſure, in whoſe love is our reſt and " life.

" From the houſe of bondage
" in Boſton, wherein we are
" made captives by the wills
" of men, although made
" free by the Son. John 8.
" 36. In which we quietly
" reſt, this 16th of the 5mo
" 1658.

" *Laurence Southick*,
" *Caſſandra Southick*,
" *Joſiah Southick*,
" *Samuel Shattock*,
" *Joſhua Buffum*."

Upon

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Upon this repreſentation Samuel Shattock and Joſhua Buffum were releaſed, but the other three arbitrarily detained in priſon. It was not long till thoſe who had been releaſed were ſent back to rejoin their former companions in priſon, for abſenting from their public meetings, and meeting by themſelves contrary to law; for which they were each fined by the court at Ipſwich 5s. for abſenting from their worſhip by the law of 1646, and 10s. each for meeting by themſelves. After this they proceeded to condemn them to puniſhment upon their laſt law againſt Quakers, as being ſuch. Upon which they demanded a fair trial by a jury, and evidence to prove them ſuch as that law deſcribed, viz. *curſed hereticks, who hold blaſphemous opinions, and promulgate diabolical doctrines;* but this juſt demand would not be granted: Broadſtreet intimating the court would find out an eaſier way to diſcover a Quaker than by *blaſphemy*, (a confeſſion which it was eaſier to charge than to prove) ſo concluding them Quakers from appearing with their hats on, the court, without any further proof or enquiry, ſentenced them to be whipped with ten ſtripes a piece. About three weeks after they were brought before the general court at Boſton. From which they repeated their demand of a fair trial, and received a ſecond refuſal; they remonſtrated againſt the unjuſt puniſhments, which had been inflicted upon them; they refuted their charges; they maintained, beyond contradiction, that they had already ſuffered the puniſhments preſcribed by their laws, and therefore had a juſt claim to their liberty: Although the court was in no wiſe inclined

Again committed to priſon and puniſhed various ways.

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inclined to admit their juſt claim, they were reduced to a nonplus, to find a pretext of any plauſible complexion for adding puniſhments beyond law to the various penalties of their unrighteous laws. Wherefore they continued them in priſon, to conſider what further meaſures to take with them.

Lecture, at which Charles Chauncey preaches an occaſional ſermon.

[g] The next day was their lecture day at Boſton, at which Charles Chauncey, the preſident of their college or univerſity, preached an occaſional lecture for the purpoſe of furniſhing a palliative for inflicting additional puniſhments upon them, by the following ſavage and uncharitable compariſon: "Suppoſe ye ſhould "catch * ſix wolves in a trap, and ye cannot "prove that they killed either ſheep or lambs; "and now you have them they will neither "bark nor bite; yet they have the plain mark "of wolves. Now I leave it to your conſidera-"tion (ſaid he) whether you will let them go "alive, yea or nay?" Which ſtrange reaſoning applied, as intended, to the caſe of the priſoners, amounts to this: "You have ſix Quakers in "your cuſtody, and you have already puniſhed "them as far as the law authorizes you; you "can prove nothing really criminal in their "conduct, and their demeanour in your hands "is inculpable: Yet they have the plain marks "of Quakers, and therefore you are to con-"ſider, whether it be expedient to let them go "after ſuffering the puniſhment of former laws,

* Alluding to the ſix priſoners, againſt whom they could prove no offence of any conſequence, much leſs any crime worthy of ſtripes or bonds.

[g] Sewel, p. 196.

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"or hold them faſt till ſome ſeverer laws be "enacted to inflict heavier puniſhments upon "them." How inconſiſtent are the inferences naturally ariſing from this ſtrange parallel with the duty of his ſtation, as a tutor of youth or miniſter of the goſpel. And whatever his character might be as a ſcholar, little credit can accrue to him as a lawyer or a miniſter: To propoſe the puniſhing of men, not for what they had done, but what they might do, is ſo evidently prepoſterous, ſo oppoſite to the ſpirit of law and goſpel, morality and religion, that one might wonder how it could enter into any man's heart to conceive, or how his tongue could be brought to utter it upon ſo ſolemn an occaſion, as that of a religious exerciſe. But we have herein one inſtance among many of the ſpirit of theſe New-England prieſts, ever ready to add fewel to the ſtrange fire of perſecution in the magiſtrates, and not only to foment their ſanguinary meaſures, but often to be the firſt propoſers and promoters of them. This lecture, with other efforts of the prieſts, prompted the magiſtrates ſoon after to go one ſtep farther, and enact a law *to baniſh the Quakers on pain of death:* And theſe ſix perſons will appear to be firſt upon whom it was enforced.

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Chriſtopher Holder, John Copeland and John Rouſe have their right Ears cut off.—Their Appeal to England rejected.—Katharine Scot whipped.—Many join in Society with the People called Quakers.—The Prieſts petition for a Law to baniſh them on pain of Death.—Oppoſed by the Court of Deputies.—By the Inſtigation of the Prieſts carried by one Vote.—Two Deputies enter their Proteſt againſt it.—Laurence Southick, Samuel Shattock, &c. baniſhed upon the Act.—Recapitulation of the Treatment of Laurence and Caſſandra Southick.—Their Son and Daughter fined for abſence from the Public Worſhip, and ordered to be ſold for bond Slaves to ſatisfy the Fine.—William Robinſon, Marmaduke Stevenſon, Mary Dyer and N. Davis baniſhed on pain of Death.—The three former continue or return, and are all condemned to Death.—Mary Dyer's Letter to the General Court.—They are led to execution with Drums beating.—Reflections on their Uſage.—Mary Dyer reprieved.—Inhumanity to the dead Bodies.—People diſguſted at theſe Executions.

WE come now to the execution of their law againſt ſuch as ſhould preſume to return after they had ſuffered before. Chriſtopher Holder and John Copeland coming to Dedham, and CHAP. XVI. 1658.

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lodging there one night, were next day taken by a conſtable and carried to Boſton, where being brought before the governor, he in a rage addreſſed them with this rough ſalutation, *You ſhall be ſure to have your ears cut off.* Soon after John Rouſe alſo coming to Boſton was clapt into priſon. On the 10th of September theſe three were brought before the court of magiſtrates, where, after ſome reflections caſt upon them, Endicot, in fierce wrath, pronounced the following ſentence: *It is the ſentence of this court that you three have each his right ear cut off by the hangman*; which ſentence was executed upon them the 16th. The deputy marſhal having admitted as many as he thought proper, had the doors made faſt, and the priſoners being brought into another room, John Rouſe told the marſhal, * *We have appealed to the chief magiſtrate of England.* To which he anſwered, *I have nothing to do with that.* Holder ſaid, *Such execution as this ſhould be done publickly, and not in private; for that was contrary to* the law of England. Captain Oliver replied, *We do it in private, to keep you from tatling.* The executioner then proceeded to the execution of his office upon Holder; the marſhal, who was ordered to ſee the execution, turned his back, upon which Rouſe called to him *to turn about and ſee it*, according to his order, and then he turned again. After Holder ſuffered the amputation of his ear, Rouſe undauntedly

* Humphry Norton, and the others whipped with him, appealed alſo to England; but Endicot and Bellingham violently oppoſed it, crying out, "no appeal to England! no appeal "to England!"

undauntedly ſuffered the like, and after him Copeland, which being done, they ſaid, "Thoſe "who do it ignorantly, we deſire from our "hearts the Lord to forgive them; but for "them that do it maliciouſly, let our blood be "upon their heads; and ſuch ſhall know in "the day of account, that each drop of our "blood ſhall be heavier than a mill-ſtone."

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Amongſt others whom curioſity or compaſſionate ſympathy had drawn to ſee this execution was Katharine Scot from Providence, who, upon obſerving it was to be done in private, remarked that it was evident they were doing the work of darkneſs, or elſe they would have brought them forth publickly, and have declared their offences, that others might hear and fear. [h] For this ſenſible obſervation, ſhe, who was a woman of blameleſs converſation, good education and circumſtances, was committed to priſon, and ſeverely whipped with a three-fold cord knotted whip. And, upon her examination, being threatened with hanging if ſhe came thither again, ſhe gravely replied, *If God calls us, woe be to us, if we come not; and I queſtion not but he whom we love will make us not to count our lives dear to ourſelves, for his name's ſake*; to which Endicot, from the malignity of his heart, rejoined, *And we ſhall be as ready to take away your lives, as you ſhall be to lay them down*, which ſavage expreſſion his actions afterwards cruelly made good.

Katharine Scott whipped.

For notwithſtanding all the ſanguinary laws hitherto enacted by theſe rigid rulers, and the more ſanguinary puniſhment inflicted upon this people

[h] Beſſe, v. ii. p. 190.

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people in many caſes without or beyond law, under the full perſuaſion of duty ſeveral of them were ſtill concerned, notwithſtanding all attending danger and difficulty, to continue their travels for the fulfilling that miniſtry they believed themſelves called unto, although they were ſenſible bonds and afflictions abode them; by the exerciſe whereof, as well as the beholding of their patience under their ſufferings, many of the inhabitants of Boſton, Salem and other places had been brought over to join with them in goſpel fellowſhip, and many more to ſentiments of compaſſion and good-will toward them. The arbitrary rulers of this colony, mortified to the laſt degree to find all the vindictive meaſures they had adopted to ſuppreſs this new ſect, reſulting in a general commiſeration of the ſufferers, and a general diſſatisfaction at their rigorous and perſecuting proceedings; that the ſociety gained ground under all the difficulties and diſadvantages they were expoſed to; and the more barbarous ſeverities they inflicted upon them, the more the diſgraceful employment grew upon their hands, determined to reſort to the laſt extremity, and enact a law to baniſh them on pain of death[i].

Many join in ſociety with the Quakers.

Law to baniſh Quakers on pain of death.

This was not ſo eaſy a matter for them to get accompliſhed, the tender feelings of the people being awakened by the repeated inſtances of their former cruelty, and the patience of the ſufferers. Many of the ſober part of all ranks were very averſe to this propoſed meaſure, and not backward to declare their averſion; but where the civil, eccleſiaſtical and military powers

[i] Beſſe, v. ii. p. 190.

powers are combined*, be their meaſures right or wrong, all oppoſition is ineffectual; and in the preſent caſe the chiefs of theſe three orders, *John Endicot* governor, *Richard Bellingham* deputy governor, *John Norton* and *John Wilſon* chief prieſts of Boſton, and the majors-general *Denniſon* and *Adderton*, conſtantly appear amongſt their determined foes, and moſt ſanguine fomenters, or adminiſtrators of perſecution againſt them. John Norton, in conjunction with others of the prieſthood, (who had been all along at the bottom of theſe perſecuting meaſures) pretended miniſters of his goſpel, who came not to deſtroy men's lives but to ſave them, forgot their duty ſo far, that they preſented a petition to the magiſtrates, to *make ſome law to baniſh the* Quakers *upon pain of death*, thus preſcribing to them the meaſures to purſue. In conſequence whereof the magiſtrates, in their † general court held in Boſton in October, at the inſtigation of the prieſts, and to gratify their own mortal hatred, made no

Petitioned for by the prieſts.

* Theſe magiſtrates, conſcious where their ſtrength lay, viz. of the power being in their own hands, were not aſhamed to exerciſe it without regard to equity or morality.

† The general court is compoſed of the magiſtrates and deputies elected by the freemen of the reſpective towns; this court hath the power of judicature, as well as the ſupreme legiſlative power: it is conſtituted of two houſes, the court of magiſtrates and the court of deputies, each ſitting and acting a part. The laws are to be tranſmitted from one houſe to the other, and not to be in force till paſſed by a majority of both houſes; and if any diſagreement or difference in judgment ariſe between the two houſes, it is to be decided by a majority of both houſes met together. Appendix to Neale's hiſtory of New-England, vol. ii. p. 336.

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no difficulty of paſſing an act to baniſh and put them to death without a trial by jury, agreeing it ſhould be executed by a county court, conſiſting of three magiſtrates, the majority of whom were to give judgment, and condemn to death at their pleaſure; but the court of deputies would by no means agree to it, as being contrary to the laws of England to put men to death without a trial by a jury[k]. However the magiſtrates and prieſts were ſo determinedly bent to gain their point, that they exerted all their influence with the deputies, and at laſt prevailed upon two of them to change ſides, and even then their ſanguinary law was carried by a majority of one voice only; the ſpeaker and eleven more being againſt, and thirteen for it. One *Wozel*, a deacon of their church and a deputy, was affected ſo much on the occaſion, that being confined by indiſpoſition, he deſired to be ſent for, when the law ſhould be put to the vote; but it was carried in his abſence, which when he heard, in the anxiety of his heart he went to the court, and deſired his vote might be taken, with tears expreſſing his ſorrow that his abſence ſhould occaſion ſuch a law to paſs, ſaying, *That if he had not been able to go, he would have crept on his hands and knees to prevent it.* Thus was the law carried to baniſh them on pain of death by a majority of three magiſtrates, without the interpoſition of a jury; yet two of the deputies, Captain Edward Hutchinſon, and Thomas Clark of Boſton, merchant, being ſtill diſſatisfied, did enter their proteſt againſt the law; becauſe

Oppoſed by the court of deputies.

Through the influence of the prieſts carried by one vote.

Two deputies enter their proteſt againſt it.

[k] Sewel, p. 198.

becauſe it was contrary to a ſtanding law of the country, which was, *that none be ſentenced to death and baniſhment but by a ſpecial jury and court of aſſiſtants**. And it ſeems that the law was amended, preſcribing a legal trial, (if it can be called a trial at all) conſonant to this ſtanding law.

Thus on the 20th of October, 1658, they paſſed the following act:

" An act made at a general court held at Boſ-
" ton the 20th of October, 1658.

" Whereas there is a pernicious ſect, com-
" monly called *Quakers*, lately ariſen, who by
" word and writing have publiſhed and main-
" tained many † dangerous and horrid tenets,
" and do take upon them to change and alter
" the received ‡ laudable cuſtoms of our na-
" tion, in giving civil reſpect to equals or re-
" verence to ſuperiors, § whoſe actions tend to
" undermine the civil government, and alſo to
" deſtroy the order of the churches, by ‖ deny-
" ing all eſtabliſhed forms of worſhip, and by withdrawing

* Court of Aſſiſtants conſiſts of the governor, deputy governor and magiſtrates of Boſton.

† *Dangerous and horrid tenets.*] What theſe dangerous and horrid tenets were, is neither ſpecified in this nor any other of their laws.

‡ *Laudable cuſtoms, viz.*] The pulling off the hat.

§ *Whoſe actions tend to undermine the civil government.*] If any of their conduct had this tendency, it is a wonder theſe rulers never ſpecified theſe dangerous actions, becauſe a ſpecification thereof would have been a better apology for their ſevere laws than any they have publiſhed.

‖ *Denying all eſtabliſhed forms of worſhip.*] Turpe eſt doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipſum. What was the cauſe of theſe

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" withdrawing from orderly church-fellowſhip, " allowed and approved by all orthodox pro- " feſſors of truth, and inſtead thereof, and in " oppoſition thereunto, frequently meeting by " themſelves, inſinuating themſelves into the " minds of the ſimple, or ſuch as are leaſt af- " fected to the order and government of " church and commonwealth, whereby divers " of our inhabitants have been infected, not- " withſtanding all former laws made upon the " experience of their arrogant and bold obtru- " ſions, to diſſeminate their principles amongſt " us, prohibiting their coming into this juriſ- " diction, they have not been deterred from " their impetuous attempts to undermine our " peace and hazard our ruin.

" For prevention thereof, this court doth " order and enact, that every perſon or perſons " of the *curſed ſect of Quakers*, who is not an " inhabitant of, but is found within this juriſ- " diction, ſhall be apprehended without war- " rant where no magiſtrate is at hand, by any " conſtable, commiſſioner, or ſelect man, and " conveyed from conſtable to conſtable to the " next magiſtrate, who ſhall commit the ſaid " perſon to cloſe priſon, there to remain (with- " out bail) unto the next court of aſſiſtants, " where

theſe legiſlators leaving their native land, but their diſſent from the eſtabliſhed forms of worſhip there. Is not this law an apology for Laud and his aſſociates, in aſſerting a right to puniſh men for denying eſtabliſhed forms, particularly as they ſtopt ſhort of the extremities to which theſe preciſe barbarians proceeded; they neither baniſhed nor hanged any of their preachers, the hardſhips, they had chiefly to complain of, being a deprivation of their eccleſiaſtical emoluments, which the Quakers wanted not from them.

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" where they ſhall have a legal trial by a " ſpecial jury; and being * convicted to be of " the ſect of the Quakers, ſhall be ſentenced to " be baniſhed upon pain of death: And that " every inhabitant of this juriſdiction, being " convicted to be of the aforeſaid ſect, either " by taking up, publiſhing or defending the " horrid opinions of the *Quakers*, or the ſtirr- " ing up mutiny, ſedition or rebellion againſt " the government, or by taking up their abu- " ſive and deſtructive practices, viz. denying " civil reſpect to equals and ſuperiors, and " withdrawing from our church aſſemblies, and " inſtead thereof frequenting meetings of their " own in oppoſition to our church order, or " by adhering to or approving of any known " *Quaker*, and the tenets and practices of the " *Quakers* that are oppoſite to the orthodox " received opinions of the godly, and endea- " vouring to diſaffect others to civil govern- " ment and church order, or condemning the " proceedings and practices of this court " againſt the *Quakers*, manifeſting thereby their " compliance with thoſe whoſe deſign is to " overthrow the order eſtabliſhed in church " and ſtate, every ſuch perſon, upon convic- " tion before the ſaid court of aſſiſtants in manner

* This conviction doth not appear to be by evidence of any matter of fact, but their coming into the court covered, ſaying *thee* and *thou*; and ſuch like marks of their being Quakers ſo called, were aſſumed by the court as ſufficient evidence to convict them upon even in caſe of life and death, which proceeding drew from William Leddra this pertinent remark, " you will put me to death for ſpeaking Engliſh, and " for not putting off my clothes."

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" manner aforeſaid, ſhall be committed to cloſe " priſon for one month, and then, unleſs they " chooſe voluntarily to depart this juriſdiction, " ſhall give bond for their good behaviour, " and appear at the next court, where conti- " nuing obſtinate, and refuſing to retract and " reform the aforeſaid opinions, they ſhall be " ſentenced to baniſhment upon pain of death; " and any one magiſtrate, upon information " given him of any ſuch perſon, ſhall cauſe " him to be apprehended, and ſhall commit " any ſuch perſon to priſon, according to his " diſcretion, until he come to trial as afore- " ſaid."

Such a ſample of legiſlation is a monument of laſting infamy to the legiſlators. To enact and inflict capital puniſhment from perſonal diſlikes, for mere perſonal offences, or a conſcientious diſſent to eſtabliſhed forms, even with a conſtitutional authority, is little ſhort of murder; but without it it is well nigh murder of malice prepenſe. For as to the undermining or inciting to diſaffection to the civil government, to its ruin, theſe are no more than vague pretexts, unſupported by matter of fact. The uſual ſubterfuge of perſecution, to ſtrip itſelf of the odium of its real character, is to clothe religious diſſent with the robe of ſedition in the ſtate; yet the preamble of this law points chiefly at religious ſcruple or inoffenſive uſages, which mark it at firſt view with the ſtamp of downright perſecution to death.

1659. Proceedings againſt Laurence and Caſſandra Southick, Samuel Shattock, &c.

The firſt victims to this ſevere law were Laurence and Caſſandra Southick, their ſon Joſiah, Samuel Shattock, Nicholas Phelps and Joſhua Buffum. They were called before the court the 11th of 3d month, 1659, and on their

their trial (ſuch as it was) the ſame arbitrary ſpirit of tyranny appeared in their manner of executing as in paſſing their laws. The priſoners making a rational objection to their proceeding againſt them by this law, as being in cuſtody when it was made, and therefore as to them a poſt facto law.—To their quere, *whether it was for an offence againſt that law, which then had no exiſtence, they were committed to priſon and baniſhed*, they received no reply; then one of them deſired the governor, *that he would be pleaſed to declare before the people the real and true cauſe of their proceedings againſt them;* he anſwered, *it was for contemning authority in not coming to the* * *ordinances of God.* He further charged them *with rebellion againſt the authority of the country, in not departing according to their order*; to which they anſwered, *They had no other place to go to, but had their wives, children, families and eſtates to look after;* nor had they done any thing worthy of death, *baniſhment or bonds*, or any of the hardſhips or ignominious puniſhments which *they had ſuffered* in their perſons, beſides the loſs of one hundred pounds worth of their property taken from them for meeting together. This remonſtrance of their recent accumulated injuries ſilencing the governor, Major-general Deniſon

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* What he particularly meant by the ordinances of God I cannot determine; if it was their public worſhip, (for their abſence from which they had before ſuffered by fines and by whipping) I think it is a bold appellation, and more blaſphemous than any thing objected to the Quakers, as applied to that worſhip and that religion which produced no better fruits. Such bitter waters never iſſued from a divine fountain.

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niſon made this unanſwerable reply, that *they ſtood againſt the authority of the country in not ſubmitting to their laws; that he ſhould not go about to ſpeak much of the error of their judgments, but*, added he, *you and we are not able well to live together*. *At preſent the power is in our hand, *and therefore the ſtrongeſt muſt fend off.* [m] After this the priſoners were put forth for a while, and being called in again, the ſentence of baniſhment was pronounced againſt them, and no more than a fortnight's time allowed for them to depart on pain of death; and although they deſired a reſpite to ſettle their affairs, and till an opportunity of a convenient paſſage to England might occur, the unrelenting malice of their perſecutors would not grant them even this ſmall and reaſonable requeſt; ſo Samuel Shattock, N. Phelps and Joſiah Southick ‡ were obliged to take an opportunity

Sentenced to baniſhment on pain of death.

* Have we, in the hiſtory of that reign, which theſe men and their partizans ſo freely repreſent under the epithets of deſpotic and tyrannical, ſo barefaced an aſſertion of arbitrary power as this?

[m] Beſſe, vol. ii. p. 197.

‡ Neale is guilty of an unaccountable miſtake in aſſerting that none of theſe returned into the country any more, whereas Samuel Shattock was the man, who, as king's commiſſioner, carried over his mandamus to the governor of New England to put a ſtop to their illicit proceedings in putting Quakers to death. This mandamus he ſeems to have copied from New England judged, where § he muſt ſurely have ſeen it was carried over by ſaid Shattock. Joſiah Southick and N. Phelps alſo returned in 1661, before the arrival of S. Shattock, N. Phelps being ancient died ſoon after, and J. Southick was afterwards whipt through ſeveral towns.

§ New England judged, p. 354.

portunity that preſented four days after, to paſs for England by Barbadoes, in order to ſeek redreſs from the parliament and council of ſtate there, but without ſucceſs. Laurence and Caſſandra Southick went to Shelter Iſland, where they ſoon after died within three days of each other; and Joſhua Buffum retired to Rhode Iſland. CHAP. XVI. 1659.

The proceedings of theſe haughty rulers are ſtrongly marked throughout with the features of ſelf-importance, inhumanity and bitter malignity; but I know of no inſtance of a more perſevering malice and cruelty, than that wherewith they perſecuted the aforeſaid Laurence and Caſſandra Southick and their family. Firſt, while members of their church, they were both impriſoned for entertaining ſtrangers, Chriſtopher Holder and John Copeland, a chriſtian duty, which the apoſtle to the Hebrews adviſes not to be unmindful of. And after ſeven weeks impriſonment, Caſſandra was fined 40s. for owning a paper written by the aforeſaid perſons. Next for abſenting from the public worſhip and owning the Quakers' doctrine, on the information of one captain Hawthorn, they with their ſon Joſiah were ſent to the houſe of correction, and whipped in the coldeſt ſeaſon of the year, and at the ſame time Hawthorn iſſued his warrant to diſtrain their goods for abſence from their public worſhip, whereby there were taken from them cattle to the value of 4l. 15s. Again they were impriſoned with others for being at a meeting, and Caſſandra was again whipped, and upon their joint letter to the magiſtrates before recited the other appellants were releaſed; but this family, although they with the reſt had ſuffered the penalty of their cruel law

Recapitulation of the ſufferings of Laurence and Caſſandra Southick.

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law fully, were * arbitrarily detained in priſon to their great loſs and damage, being in the ſeaſon of the year when their affairs moſt immediately demanded their attendance. And laſt of all were baniſhed upon pain of death, as before recited, by a law made while they were impriſoned, and conſequently againſt which they had not offended: Thus ſpoiled of their property, deprived of their liberty, driven into baniſhment, and in jeopardy of their lives, for no other crime than meeting apart, and diſſenting from the eſtabliſhed worſhip, the ſufferings of this inoffenſive aged couple ended only with their lives.

Daniel and Provided Southick fined 10l. for abſence from the publick worſhip.

But the multiplied injuries of this harmleſs pair were not ſufficient to gratify that thirſt of vengeance which ſtimulated theſe perſecutors, while any member of the family remained unmoleſted: During their detention in priſon, they left at home a ſon and daughter named Daniel and Provided; theſe children, not deterred by the unchriſtian treatment of their parents and brother, felt themſelves rather encouraged to follow their ſteps, and relinquiſh the aſſemblies of a people whoſe religion was productive of ſuch relentleſs perſecution, for their abſence from which they were fined 10l. though it was well known they had no eſtate, their parents having been reduced to poverty by repeated fines and extravagant diſtraints; wherefore to ſatisfy the fine, they were ordered to be ſold for bond-ſlaves by the following mandate:

"Whereas

* While they were in priſon, William Maſton coming through Salem in his way to Boſton, brought them ſome proviſions from home, for which he was committed to priſon, and kept there fourteen days in the cold winter ſeaſon, though about ſeventy years of age.

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" [n] Whereas *Daniel Southick* and *Provided Southick*, ſon and daughter of *Laurence Southick*, abſenting themſelves from the public ordinances, having been fined by the courts of *Salem* and *Ipſwich*, pretending they have no eſtates, and reſolving not to work: The court, upon peruſal of a law, which was made upon account of debts, in anſwer to what ſhould be done for the ſatisfaction of the fines reſolves, That the treaſurers of the ſeveral counties, are and ſhall be fully empowered to ſell the ſaid perſons to any of the *Engliſh* nation at *Virginia* or *Barbadoes*, to anſwer the ſaid fines."

Ordered to be ſold for bond-ſlaves to ſatisfy the fine.

* Purſuant to this order Edward Butter, one of the treaſurers, ſought out for a paſſage for them to Barbadoes for ſale, but could find none willing to take them thither. One maſter of a ſhip to whom he applied, in order to evade a compliance, pretended *they would ſpoil the ſhip's company*, Butter replied, *No, you need not fear that,*

Vain endeavours to put the order in execution.

[n] Beſſe, vol. ii. p. 197. Sewel, p. 223.

* Neale, in the place of Butler's ſubſequent endeavours to execute the above-cited order, ſubſtitutes the following palliating conjecture: " I am apt to think this order was made " rather to terrify the Quakers, than with a deſign to be put " in execution; for when Southick and his wife had been " thoroughly frightened, they were ſent home without further " puniſhment." On what authority he founds this conjecture doth not appear, nor do I ſee room for it; we find none of their orders which they could execute within themſelves, which were not executed fully up to, or beyond the letter of the law, a bitter paſſionate ſpirit accompanying all their executions. And in the preſent caſe, the failure of execution doth not appear to be the reſult of any tenderneſs in them, but of a more humane diſpoſition in others not under their juriſdiction, whoſe aſſiſtance was wanted, but who would have no concern in the buſineſs, as appearing to them unreaſonably cruel and unjuſt.

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that, for they are poor harmleſs creatures that will not hurt any body. The maſter rejoined, *will you then offer to make ſlaves of ſuch harmleſs creatures?* and declined the invidious office of tranſporting them, as well as the reſt. Diſappointed in his deſigns, and at a loſs how to diſpoſe of them, the winter approaching, he ſent them home to ſhift for themſelves, till he could find a convenient opportunity to ſend them away.

W. Robinſon, Marmaduke Stevenſon, Mary Dyer and Nicholas Davis, baniſhed on pain of death.

We are now advanced to the period wherein perſecution proceeded to the laſt extremity, in proſecuting to death for religion [o]. William Robinſon, a merchant of London, Marmaduke Stevenſon of Yorkſhire, huſbandman, and Mary Dyer, a woman fearing the Lord, of good report, the mother of ſeveral children, and wife of a reputable inhabitant of Rhode-Iſland, with Nicholas Davis, were by the Court of Aſſiſtants at Boſton in the beginning of September, 1659, ſentenced to baniſhment on pain of death. William Robinſon attempting to ſpeak for himſelf, was firſt ſtopped by an handkerchief thruſt into his mouth,

W. Robinſon whipt.

and afterwards ſeverely whipped with twenty ſtripes with a threefold corded whip, ſoon after which they were all releaſed, and baniſhed purſuant to their ſentence, being allowed no more than two days *, from the 12th of September, the day of their releaſe, to the 14th of the ſame, to

[o] Sewel, p. 227, &c. Beſſe, vol. ii.

* We have again an inſtance of Neale's unfair and partial repreſentation of fact: "Theſe three coming from Rhode "Iſland in the month of June, were apprehended and baniſh-"ed on pain of death, and were allowed till the 4th of Sep-"tember to depart the juriſdiction. The two men went to "Piſcataqua government, and the woman to Rhode Iſland, "&c." One would naturally conclude from hence, that they were

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to depart their juriſdiction, to anſwer it at the peril of their lives, if found within their precincts after the laſt mentioned day.

Mary Dyer and Nicholas Davis left that juriſdiction at that time: William Robinſon and Marmaduke Stevenſon only went from Boſton, but found themſelves not at liberty to depart the juriſdiction, though ſtaying at the hazard of their lives, apprehending their miniſtry there not finiſhed; ſo they departed to Salem and the adjacent parts to viſit their friends and confirm them in the faith, to ſtand ſteadfaſt in theſe perilous times.

W. Robinſon and M. Stevenſon continue about Salem.

were *baniſhed in June, and allowed till the 4th of September to depart*, and ſo conceive an idea of the lenity of this government, to which it hath no better claim in this, than in its preceding tranſactions, being marked with the ſame bitter ſpirit of unpitying animoſity. From *New Eng. judged* we learn, "That they came from Rhode Iſland in the then 4th month "(June) to Boſton, where they were apprehended, and ſent to "priſon, *to remain there till the next Court of Aſſiſtants*," which was held as above related: The order for their releaſe bears date the 12th of September, and concludes thus: "They "muſt anſwer it on their peril, if they or any of them after "the 14th of this preſent month September, are found within "this juriſdiction." So then they had no more than two days allowed them to eſcape their determined deſtruction. This was certainly a very hard meaſure, for no other crime than breathing the air of the country, and too evident a ſymptom of implacable malignity, riſing to blood-thirſtineſs in their perſecutors, hardly reconcileable to Endicot's declaration, that *he deſired not their death*. But Neale in his relation conceals this aggravating circumſtance, which is a very material part of an honeſt and impartial account, as it ſhews theſe governors in a proper light; and there appears too much reaſon to conclude it was done with deſign to gloſs over the cruelty of theſe proceedings, by giving them a complection of lenity which they poſſeſſed not, and to the conduct of the innocent ſufferers, that of an unreaſonable contumacy, and being guilty of their own blood; of which they were no otherwiſe guilty, than by continuing in the diſcharge of apprehended duty.

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times. It was not long before they were taken up, impriſoned, and put in chains at Boſton. In the next month Mary Dyer alſo returned, and was taken into cuſtody; thus they had in their power three perſons, who by their ſanguinary law had forfeited their lives. On the 20th of October they were brought before the court, where John Endicot preſided, and being ſet to the bar, Endicot commanded the keeper to pull off their hats, and without further proceſs, without any other prefatory addreſs, to point out their errors, than the following recapitulation of their own ſeverities and crimes, inſtead of thoſe of the priſoners, proceeded to paſs ſentence of death as follows, "We have made many laws, "and endeavoured by ſeveral ways to keep you "from us, and neither whipping nor impriſon-"ment, nor cutting off of ears, nor baniſhment "on pain of death, will keep you from among "us; *I deſire not your deaths.*" Then added, "Give ear and hearken to your ſentence of "death." William Robinſon, previous to paſſing the ſentence, deſiring liberty to read a paper, ſhewing the reaſon why he had not departed that juriſdiction, his requeſt was refuſed, and the following ſentence paſſed upon him: *You ſhall be had back to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, to be hanged on the gallows till you are dead.* After which Marmaduke Stevenſon and Mary Dyer received the like ſentence; theſe two, obſerving the treatment of William Robinſon, made no defence. But the former, after the ſentence, was incited to warn the magiſtrates and others guilty of their death, *That the ſame day they put the Lord's ſervants to death, the day of their viſitation ſhould paſs over their heads,*

1659. M. Dyer returns to Boſton.

All three condemned to death.

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heads, and they be curſed for evermore: And therefore in love, deſired them to take warning before it ſhould be too late, and thereby remove the fatal conſequences of ſhedding innocent blood. Mary Dyer, to her ſentence, replied, *The will of the Lord be done.* Upon which Endicot ordering the marſhal to take her away, ſhe rejoined, *yea joyfully I go.* Being taken back to priſon, ſhe employed a part of the intermediate time in writing, to the general court in Boſton, a letter of remonſtrance againſt their laſt ſanguinary law, being a ſtrong diſſuaſion from putting it in execution. Of which, as a ſpecimen of equanimity in the moſt trying circumſtances, and the good ſenſe and chriſtian temper that dictated it, we lay before the reader the following abſtract:

Mary Dyer's letter to the general court.

"To the general court at Boſton.

"Whereas I am charged by many with guil-
"tineſs of my own blood: If you mean in my
"coming to Boſton, I am therein clear, and
"juſtified by the Lord, in whoſe will I came,
"who will require my blood of you, be ſure,
"who have made a law to take away the lives
"of the innocent ſervants of God, if they come
"among you, who are called by you *curſed*
"*Quakers*; although I ſay, and am a living
"witneſs for them and the Lord, that he hath
"bleſſed them, and ſent them unto you: There-
"fore be not found fighters againſt God, but
"let my counſel and requeſt be accepted with
"you, to repeal all ſuch laws, that the truth and
"ſervants of the Lord may have free paſſage
"amongſt you, and you be kept from ſhedding
"innocent blood, which I know there are many
"among you would not do, if they knew it ſo

"to

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" to be.———I have no ſelf-ends, the Lord " knoweth, for if my life were freely granted " by you it would not avail me, nor could I " expect it of you ſo long as I daily hear or ſee " the ſufferings of theſe people, as I have done " theſe two years, and now it is like to encreaſe " even unto death, for no evil-doing but com- " ing among you. *Were ever the like laws heard* " *of among a people that profeſs Chriſt come in the* " *fleſh?* And have you no other weapons but " ſuch laws to fight with againſt ſpiritual wick- " edneſs, as you call it?——Search with the " light of Chriſt in you, and it will ſhew you of " whom you take counſel, as it hath done me " and many more, who have been diſobedient " and deceived as now you are; which light as " you come into, and obey what is made mani- " feſt to you therein, you will not repent that " you were kept from ſhedding blood, though " by a woman. It is not my own life I ſeek, " *(for I chuſe rather to ſuffer with the people of* " *God, than to enjoy the pleaſures of* Egypt*)* but " the life of the ſeed which I know the Lord " hath bleſſed;———And I know this, " that if you confirm your law, though it were " to the taking away the life of but one of us, " that the Lord will overthrow both your law " and you by his righteous judgments, and " plagues poured juſtly upon you; who now, " whilſt you are warned thereof, and tenderly " ſought unto, may avoid the one by removing " the other.———Oh! let none of you " put the evil day far from you, which verily, " in the light of the Lord, I ſee approaching " even to many in and about *Boſton*, which is " the bittereſt and darkeſt profeſſing place that " ever I heard of; let the time paſt, therefore,

" ſuffice

" ſuffice for ſuch a profeſſion as brings forth " ſuch fruits as theſe laws are. In love, and in " the ſpirit of meekneſs, I again beſeech you, " for I have no enmity to the perſons of any; " but you ſhall know that God will not be " mocked, but what you ſow that ſhall ye reap " from him, that will render to every one accord- " ing to the deeds done in the body, whether " good or evil: Even ſo be it, ſaith

" MARY DYER."

Led to execution with a band of armed men, and drums beating.

The 27th of October, being the day appointed for their execution, in the afternoon they were led to the gallows by Michaelſon the Marſhal, and Captain Oliver, with a band of about two hundred armed men, beſides many horſemen, as if apprehenſive ſome of the people might reſcue the priſoners. In the proceſſion, the drummers were placed to march next before the condemned perſons, and when any of them attempted to ſpeak, the drums were beaten to prevent their being heard. An indecency unprecedented amongſt civilized nations in the adminiſtration of legal juſtice, to the vileſt criminals: This awful ſcene humanity directs to be attended with becoming ſolemnity, and ſympathy with the unhappy objects, who are going to loſe their lives, as a ſacrifice to public juſtice; and every ſentiment of common decency revolts againſt the idea of diſturbing their recollection in their laſt moments. But the treatment of theſe priſoners throughout, marks the difference between juſtice reluctantly puniſhing dangerous criminals to ſecure the public ſafety; and deſpotiſm wantonly exerciſing unjuſt power over innocence for the gratification of private animoſity.

Reflections upon their their uſage.

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ſity. But if theſe priſoners were deprived of the decent ſolemnity and uſual ſympathy, attendant on ſuch occaſions, they wanted them not; collected in themſelves, and ſupported by that which the power and inveteracy of their perſecutors could not reach, the inward teſtimony of an approving conſcience, they roſe ſuperior to all the indignities, to which they were expoſed. With hands and hearts joined, as companions in an invincible teſtimony to the truth they were brought to ſuffer for, with countenances undiſmayed, and brightened with ſigns of heavenly joy and gladneſs, they directed their ſteps to the place of execution. Mary being in the middle, the Marſhal ſaid to her, are you not aſhamed to walk thus hand in hand between two young men? She replied, *No, this is to me an hour of the greateſt joy I ever had in the world. No ear can hear, no tongue can utter, and no heart can underſtand, the ſweet incomes and refreſhings of the ſpirit of the Lord, which I now feel.* William Robinſon ſaid, *This is your hour and the power of darkneſs*, upon which the drums were immediately beaten. When they ceaſed Marmaduke Stevenſon ſaid, *This is the day of your viſitation, wherein the Lord hath viſited you;* but although he expreſſed more, the noiſe of the drums prevented his expreſſions being heard. They went forward with great chearfulneſs, as approaching everlaſting felicity, and rejoicing that the Lord had counted them worthy to ſuffer death for his name's ſake*.

Amongſt

* I believe I ſhould not have noticed Neale's curſory relation of theſe executions, if he had introduced no reflections on the ſufferers; but although in his preface he aſſerts that, "Where

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1659. Wilson, priest of Boston, attends the execution,

Amongst the rest who attended this execution, John Wilson, priest of Boston, and colleague

" Where facts have been differently related, or the justice of " the government arraigned, as in the sufferings of the Quakers and Anabaptists, &c. I have consulted the writers on " both sides, and by comparing them together have set them " in the best light I could." Yet in this case his assertion is not true, for he hath passed over in silence George Bishop's account of the behaviour of these sufferers at their execution, (from whence our accounts are taken, as from an authentick relation, written by a contemporary author, and first published in 1661, while the facts were recent, and all the parties concerned in being, and not controverted that I know of) and hath adopted that of Cotton Mather, a New England preacher and apologist, written many years after, whose reflections on the Quakers have been fully answered by John Whiting, in a piece, entitled *Truth and Innocency defended against Falsehood and Envy*, printed in 1702. Which answer Neale also cites for his authority, page 325. vol. i. and consequently had read it, where he might have seen these aspersions refuted. Now to suppress the most genuine and best authenticated accounts of their behaviour, because written by their friends, and introduce the illiberal, invidious reflections of an adversary, founded on vague and prejudiced report, is not *comparing the writers on both sides to set the facts in the best light he could.* And as he hath chosen to revive Mather's invidious and refuted insinuations, it seems proper after his respondent, John Whiting, to make some animadversions upon them, to supply Neale's failure of his specious profession, in *comparing the writers of both sides, and leaving the reader to make what reflections he pleases.* Cotton Mather says, " If any enquire with " what spirit these men died, he must sincerely say, that as " far as he can learn, they shewed little enough of the spirit " of martyrdom, they died not like the true martyrs of Jesus " Christ, with the glorious spirit of God resting upon them ; " but a fierce, a raging, a revengeful spirit, and a degree of " madness rather inspired them." *Rank malice this. Mere unsupported partial opinion, founded in ill will, which speaks well of none.* To which hear John Whiting's reply. " I " would fain know wherein [they shewed little of the spirit of " martyrdom] and beseech the reader to peruse, not only " their

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to inſult them.

league of John Norton aforeſaid, accompanied them, but from motives very unbecoming of, and diſgraceful to the ſacerdotal character, not to ſympathize with, convince or conſole the ſufferers in their laſt moments, but to enjoy the full gratification of his virulent diſpoſition, and diſturb them with impotent inſults, *ſhall ſuch jacks as you come in before authority with their hats on?* was his contemptuous language: A wonderful reaſon indeed to take away their lives! which occaſioned William Robinſon to remark, *Mind you, mind you, it is for not putting off the hat we are put to death.* William Robinſon was executed the firſt, who on the ladder addreſſed the people to the following purport: *We ſuffer not as evil doers, but as thoſe who have teſtified and manifeſted the truth: This is the day of your viſitation, and therefore I deſire you to mind the light of Chriſt which is in you, to which I have*

" their examinations, and ſpeeches at their deaths; but alſo " their papers and epiſtles [recorded in the Appendix to " New England judged, in Sewel's Hiſtory, page 228, &c. " or Beſſe's Sufferings, vol. ii. page 238.] and compare them " with the ſpeeches and letters of the martyrs, in the book " of martyrs, and ſee whether they do not ſavour of the " ſpirit of martyrdom, and holy reſignation in the caſe.—— " What won't envy miſrepreſent? *They died ſo like the mar-* " *tyrs of Jeſus Chriſt, with the glorious ſpirit of God reſting* " *upon them;* yea, and ſupporting them to the laſt, as affect- " ed the hearts of many at the time, ſo that ſeveral were " convinced of the truth at their deaths—*a fierce, a rag-* " *ing, a revengeful ſpirit, &c.* I return upon him, as ma- " licious ſlanders and calumnies, and dare him to tell where- " in they were fierce, raging, or revengeful: Did they ever " go about to revenge themſelves, or offer violence to any? " No, *they left vengeance to the Lord to whom it belongs,* " *and who will repay it.*" John Whiting's Anſwer to Cotton Mather, page 74, 77, 78.

1659.

I have born teſtimony, and am now going to ſeal my teſtimony with my blood. Wilſon, as diveſted of all ſenſation of charity and tenderneſs, and unable to reſtrain the paſſion which inwardly agitated him, in beholding the patience and fortitude of the ſufferer, bearing him up over all the terrors of death, vented his indignation, in the following preſumptuous interruption, *hold thy tongue, be ſilent; thou art going to die with a lie in thy mouth.* William Robinſon being now ready to be turned off, his laſt expreſſions were, *I ſuffer for Chriſt in whom I live, and for whom I die.* After he was turned off, Marmaduke Stevenſon aſcended the ladder, and ſaid, *Be it known unto you all this day, that we ſuffer not as evil doers, but for conſcience ſake,* and when he was about to be turned off, added, *This day ſhall we be at reſt with the Lord.* Mary Dyer was reprieved at the gallows, for that time, at the interceſſion of her ſon.

Mary Dyer, reprieved.

The malice of their perſecutors was not ſatisfied with taking away their lives, but their inhumanity extended even to their dead bodies, none holding them when they were cut down, they fell to the ground, by which William Robinſon's ſkull was fractured; then they were ſtripped, their ſhirts were ripped off with a knife, and their naked bodies rolled into a hole and left there uncovered. And when ſome of their friends would have put their bodies in coffins, they were not ſuffered to do it. Neither when they brought pales to encloſe the pit, would it be allowed: So that they were left expoſed to the beaſts of prey, had not the pit been quickly filled with water. To conclude the infamous ſcene, Prieſt Wilſon aforeſaid vented the laſt effort

Inhumanity to their dead bodies.

CHAP. XVI.

effort of his ſpleen in a ſong upon the deceaſed.

1659.

People diſguſted at theſe executions.

But many of the people more generous and humane than their magiſtrates and teachers, beheld theſe executions with ſilent ſorrow, and returned home with heavy hearts, under diſguſt and diſcontent at the perſevering cruelty of their rulers in putting innocent men to death, which the magiſtrates perceiving, in order to allay the ferment, reſolved to ſend Mary Dyer away. So they cauſed her to be ſet on horſeback, and by four horſemen to be conveyed fifteen miles towards *Rhode Iſland*, who left her there with a horſe and man, to be conveyed the reſt of the way, which ſhe ſoon ſent back and went to her own home.

Mary Dyer ſent home.

The behaviour of theſe men at their execution the means of convincing ſeveral.

The pious ſpeeches, chriſtian demeanour, conſtancy and innocence of theſe two martyrs at their execution, did not only excite, in the ſpectators in general, compaſſion and ſorrow, but in ſeveral of them a ſpirit of enquiry into the cauſes thereof, and in conſequence an adoption of that religion, which, they ſaw, was able to ſupport its profeſſors under ſo heavy a weight of afflictions. John Chamberlain, an inhabitant of Boſton, in particular, being preſent, was ſo affected, that being convinced of the truth they died for, he went to viſit others of that perſuaſion then in priſon, which the magiſtrates reſented ſo far as to impriſon him alſo, and cauſe him to be whipped ſeveral times moſt ſeverely. Edward Wharton, an inhabitant of Salem, having ſaid, *The guilt of Robinſon's and Stevenſon's blood was ſo great, that he could not bear it*, was, for his pretended inſolence, whipped with twenty laſhes and fined 20l. And Michael Shaflin, of Salem,

John Chamberlain.

Edward Wharton.

Michael Shaflin.

Salem, ſome years after, being interrogated by the court there, *How long he had abſented from their worſhip?* anſwered, *Ever ſince you put the ſervants of the Lord to death.* But theſe ſeverities failing of reconciling the people to their arbitrary and unmerciful proceedings, and finding them condemned by the generality of ſober perſons at home and abroad, they publiſhed the following apology, in juſtification of their conduct. CHAP. XVI. 1659.

" Though * the juſtice of our proceedings " againſt *William Robinſon*, *Marmaduke Steven-* " *ſon* and *Mary Dyer*, ſupported by the autho- " rity of this court, and the laws of this " country, and † the laws of God, may rather " perſuade us to expect encouragement and " commendation from all prudent and pious " men, than convince us of any neceſſity to " apologize for the ſame; yet for as much as " men of weaker parts out of pity and commi- " ſeration (a commendable and chriſtian virtue, " yet eaſily abuſed, and ſuſceptible of ſiniſter " and dangerous impreſſions) for want of a full " information, may be leſs ſatisfied, and men " of perverſer principles to calumniate us, and " render us as bloody perſecutors, to ſatisfy " one, and ſtop the mouths of the other, we " have thought fit to declare, that about three " years

* It requires more ſagacity than I am maſter of, to diſcover any regard to juſtice in their proceedings againſt theſe perſons; and I preſume every diſpaſſionate reader will be at a loſs to diſcover it alſo.

† By what divine law could they ſupport inhumanity, cruelty and bloodſhed? It appears to me blaſphemy to introduce the ſacred name into ſuch an apology, and ſtill more ſo to place his juſt laws, as in confederacy with their aſſumed authority, and arbitrary and unjuſt decrees.

CHAP. XVI. 1659.

" years ſince, divers perſons profeſſing themſelves *Quakers* (* of whoſe pernicious opinions " and practices we had received intelligence " from good hands, both from *Barbadoes* and " *England*) arrived at *Boſton*, whoſe perſons were " only ſecured to be ſent away by the firſt opportunity † without cenſure or puniſhment, " although their profeſſed principles, turbulent " and impetuous behaviour to authority, would " have juſtified a ſeverer animadverſion; yet the " prudence of this court was exerciſed only in " making proviſion to ſecure the peace and order here eſtabliſhed againſt their attempts, " whoſe deſign (we were well aſſured by our " experience, as well as by the example of their " predeceſſors in *Munſter* ‡) was to undermine " and

* This is a plain confeſſion, that their perſecuting meaſures were grounded upon no conviction of matters of fact; but on bitter prejudice, on no better grounds, than the reports of men, nighly as much prejudiced againſt this people as themſelves.

† This is not true, it being manifeſt even the firſt that came were both cenſured and puniſhed in various ways: cloſely impriſoned; their books ſeized and burnt by the hangman, deprived of company and food ſeveral days; ſtripped naked to ſearch for tokens of witchcraft; and their beds and bibles taken from them for the jailers fees. If all this uſage was not puniſhment, what was it?

‡ Equally untrue is it that they were aſſured, by their own experience, that the deſign of theſe people was to undermine and ruin the peace and order eſtabliſhed: they interfered not with their civil government; nor have theſe apologiſts advanced one matter of fact to ſupport the allegation—becauſe they could not. And their taking their eſtimate of them and their deſigns from the Anabaptiſts of Munſter, whom they term their predeceſſors, is unfair, ill-grounded, and mere venom. Was there not as great a diſparity between the Quakers and theſe Anabaptiſts, as between the independents and them? and might they not with equal or greater propriety be termed the predeceſſors of the independents

of

" and ruin the ſame; and accordingly a law was CHAP. XVI.
" made and publiſhed, prohibiting all maſters
" of 1659.

of New England? " By their fruits ye ſhall know " them," was the criterion pointed out by the author of the chriſtian religion, to try pretences to religion by, and to diſcriminate the falſe prophet from the true. Wherefore it may be no improper digreſſion to take a ſummary review of the conduct of theſe Anabaptiſts, in an abſtract from a late author *, and enquire wherein the Quakers reſembled them. John Mathias, a baker of Harlem, and John Bocold, a taylor of Leyden, were at the head of the diſorders and deluſions of theſe viſionary impoſtors; they ſettled in Munſter, a city of Weſtphalia, and gained many proſelytes to their tenets, the principal of which, and from which they obtained their name, was this, that baptiſm ought to be adminiſtered only to adult perſons, and ſhould be performed, not by ſprinkling but dipping; condemning the baptizing of infants, and rebaptizing all whom they admitted into their ſociety. This being a harmleſs ſpeculative principle, and having ſome appearance of reaſon and authority from the practice of the primitive chriſtians, could expoſe them to little or no cenſure, if they had ſtopped here. But to theſe, they are repreſented to have added other principles inconſiſtent with moral rectitude, and dangerous to the peace and order of ſociety; they pretended that magiſtracy was not only unneceſſary among chriſtians; but an unlawful encroachment on their ſpiritual liberty: They were for levelling all ranks; making all property common; and reducing all men to a ſtate of equality:

But theſe levelling principles operated with theſe men only while they were themſelves neceſſarily among the lower orders of the people: For their ſucceſs in making proſelytes diſcovered the unſoundneſs of their hearts, and the extravagance of their ambition: having gained ſome citizens of eminence to the adoption of their opinions, they expanded their views, and made ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts to get poſſeſſion of the town, in order to gain an eſtabliſhment there for their motley ſyſtem of confuſed tenets; and at laſt having ſecretly called in their aſſociates from the neighbouring country, they ſuddenly took poſſeſſion of the arſenal and the ſenate houſe in the night

* Robertſon's Hiſtory of Charles V. vol. i.

CHAP. XVI. 1659.

" of ſhips to bring any *Quakers* into this juriſ-
" diction, and themſelves from coming in, on
" penalty

night time, and running about the ſtreets with drawn ſwords and horrible howlings, cried out alternately, " Repent and " be baptized," and " Depart, ye ungodly." The citizens of all ranks and claſſes, terrified at their threats and outcries, fled in confuſion, and left the city under the dominion of a frantick multitude. At firſt they kept up the form of the antient conſtitution; but all their proceedings were directed by Mathias, who was abſolute in command, whom it was inſtant death to diſobey: Having thus got the city into his poſſeſſion, he commenced his plan of reformation by confiſcating the eſtates of thoſe that had fled, ordering thoſe that remained to bring in their gold, ſilver and precious effects, and lay at his feet; theſe he depoſited in a public treaſury, and appointed deacons to diſpenſe them for the common uſe of all. At laſt being beſieged in the town by the biſhop of Munſter, taking it into his head to ſmite the hoſt of the enemy with a handful of men, in imitation of Gideon, he ſallied out with a choſen band of thirty men to the ſlaughter, for they were all cut off to a man. He was ſucceeded in his command by his aſſociate Bocold, who far out-ſtripped him in the wildneſs of his ambition, exceſs of cruelty, and groſs immorality. Nothing would ſatisfy his ambitious ſoul ſhort of the power and title of king, which being conferred upon him, he immediately aſſumed all the ſtate and pomp of royalty. He indulged his cruelty in almoſt daily executions, and his luſt by diſſeminating among his deluded followers the notion of the lawfulneſs of polygamy: By his example as well as doctrine his diſciples were led into exceſſes of riot in violation of every rule of decency, and into deluſions no leſs pernicious to religion, than the peace and ſecurity of civil ſociety.

Now if this deſcription be juſt, where lies the parallel between them and the Quakers? Theſe latter never perverted religion to ſerve the purpoſes of ſelf-intereſt, ambition or luſt: They conſtantly maintained that it led to ſelf-denial and the daily croſs to the indulgence of theſe paſſions, and theſe doctrines were exemplified in the ſtrictneſs and circumſpection of their lives: They introduced no levelling principles, they acknowledged magiſtracy neceſſary to the order of civil ſociety, and paid due ſubmiſſion to its authority in civil concerns; they coveted no man's ſilver or gold or apparel; but wrought, labouring with their own hands to ſupply their neceſſities.

They

" penalty of the houſe of correction, until they could be ſent away. Notwithſtanding which, by a back door, they found entrance, and the penalty inflicted on them proving inſufficient to reſtrain their impudent and inſolent obtruſions, was encreaſed by the loſs of the ears of thoſe who offended a ſecond time; which alſo being too weak a defence againſt their impetuous and fanatick fury, neceſſitated us to endeavour our ſecurity; and upon ſerious conſideration a law was made, that ſuch perſons ſhould be baniſhed on pain of death, according to the example of England, in their proviſion againſt *Jeſuits*, which ſentence being regularly pronounced at the laſt court of aſſiſtants againſt theſe parties, and they either returning, or continuing preſumptuouſly in this juriſdiction after the time limited, were apprehended, and owning themſelves to be the perſons baniſhed, were ſentenced by the court to death, according to the law aforeſaid, which hath been executed on two of them. Mary Dyer, upon petition of her ſon, and the mercy and clemency of this court, had liberty to depart within two days, which ſhe hath accepted of. The conſideration of our gradual proceedings will vindicate us

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They never made uſe of their influence over their adherents to ſtir up ſedition in the ſtate, or to overturn government, in order to fix themſelves therein; but ever aſſerted the uſe of arms to be inconſiſtent with chriſtianity, and that univerſal peace and charity were the genuine productions of the goſpel of Chriſt. Wherein then lies the parallel between theſe Anabaptiſts and them? Were I inclined to draw parallels, I certainly might point out a nearer reſemblance between the proceedings of ſome other ſects of that age, and theſe diſturbers of the public peace, than thoſe of this harmleſs body of men.

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1659.

"from the clamorous accuſations of ſeverity; "our own juſt and neceſſary defence calling "upon us (other means failing) to offer the "point which theſe perſons have violently and "wilfully ruſhed upon, and thereby become "*Felones de ſe*, which, might it have been pre- "vented, and the ſovereign law *ſalus populi* been "preſerved, our former proceedings, as well "as the ſparing *Mary Dyer*, upon an inconſi- "derable interceſſion, will evidently evince, we "deſire their lives abſent, rather than their "deaths preſent."

To conclude, this apology throughout proves a bad cauſe, the reaſons advanced, when ſtripped of falſehood and exaggeration, are too futile to be admitted by reaſonable and unprejudiced perſons as a plea for moderate puniſhment, much leſs for putting men to death.

1660. Mary Dyer returns to Boſton.

Mary Dyer finding herſelf under a neceſſity, laid on her from the requirings of the ſpirit of the Lord, to go back again to *Boſton*, returned accordingly thither on the 21ſt of 3d month this year; and on the 31ſt of the ſame was ſent for by the general court; * being come, Endicott, the governor, ſaid, *Are you the ſame* Mary Dyer, *that was here before?* And it ſeems he was preparing an evaſion for her, there having been another of that name lately come from England. But ſhe, far from any diſguiſe, undauntedly anſwered, *I am the ſame* Mary Dyer *that was here the laſt general court.* Then Endicot ſaid, *You will own yourſelf* a Quaker, *will you not?* To which ſhe anſwered, *I own myſelf to be reproachfully called ſo:* Endicot ſaid, *The ſentence was paſſed upon her the laſt general court, and now likewiſe:*

Sentenced to death a ſecond time.

You

* Beſſe.

You muſt return to the priſon, and there remain until to-morrow at nine o'clock; then from thence you muſt go to the gallows, and there be hanged until you are dead. To which ſhe anſwered, *This is no more than what thou ſaidſt before.* Endicot replied; *but now it is to be executed, therefore prepare yourſelf to-morrow at nine o'clock.* She then ſpoke thus: *I came in obedience to the will of God, the laſt general court, deſiring you to repeal your unrighteous laws for baniſhment on pain of death; and that ſame is my work now, and earneſt requeſt; although I told you, that if you refuſed to repeal them, the Lord would ſend others of his ſervants to witneſs againſt them.* Hereupon Endicot aſked her, *Whether ſhe was a propheteſs?* She anſwered, *She ſpoke the words that the Lord ſpoke to her, and now the thing was come to paſs.* And beginning to ſpeak of her call, Endicot cried, *Away with her, away with her.* So ſhe was brought to priſon, and kept cloſe till next day.

Unhandſome carriage of the Marſhal,

About the time appointed, the marſhal *Michaelſon* came, and called for her to come haſtily, and coming into the room where ſhe was, ſhe deſired him *to ſtay a little, and,* ſpeaking mildly, ſaid, *ſhe would be ready preſently:* But he, being of a rough temper, ſaid, *He could not wait upon her, but ſhe ſhould now wait upon him.* One *Margaret Smith*, her companion, being grieved to ſee ſuch hard-heartedneſs, ſpoke ſomething againſt their unjuſt laws and proceedings: To which he ſaid, *You ſhall have your ſhare of the ſame.*

by whom ſhe is taken out to execution with a band of ſoldiers and drums beating.

Then *Mary Dyer* was brought forth, and with a band of ſoldiers led through the town, the drums being beaten before and behind her, and ſo continued, that none might hear her ſpeak

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all the way to the place of execution, which was about a mile. Thus guarded, ſhe came to the gallows, and being gone up the ladder, ſome ſaid to her, that *if ſhe would return ſhe might come down, and ſave her life.* To which ſhe replied, *Nay, I cannot, for in obedience to the will of the Lord I came, and in his will I abide faithful to death.* Then Captain *James Webb* ſaid, *that ſhe had been there before, and had the ſentence of baniſhment upon pain of death, and had broken the law in coming again now; and therefore was guilty of her own blood.* To which ſhe returned, *Nay, I came to keep blood-guiltineſs from you, deſiring you to repeal the unrighteous and unjuſt law of baniſhment upon pain of death, made againſt the innocent ſervants of the Lord, therefore my blood will be required at your hands who wilfully do it; but for thoſe that do it in the ſimplicity of their hearts, I deſire the Lord to forgive them. I came to do the will of my Father, and in obedience to his will, I ſtand even to death.* Then Prieſt Wilſon ſaid, *Mary Dyer, O repent, O repent, and be not ſo deluded, and carried away by the deceit of the devil.* To this ſhe anſwered, *Nay, man, I am not now to repent.* And being aſked by ſome, *Whether ſhe would have the elders pray for her?* She ſaid, *I know never an elder here.* Being farther aſked, *Whether ſhe would have any of the people pray for her?* She ſaid, *I deſire the prayers of all the people of God.* Thereupon ſome ſcoffingly ſaid, *It may be ſhe thinks there are none here.* To which ſhe replied, *I know but few here.* Then they ſpoke to her again, that *one of the elders might pray for her.* To which ſhe replied, *Nay, firſt a child, then a young man, then a ſtrong man, before an elder in Chriſt Jeſus.* After this ſhe was charged with ſomething, which was not underſtood

Her behaviour and diſcourſe at the place of execution.

underſtood what it was; but ſhe ſeemed to hear it; for ſhe ſaid, *It is falſe, it is falſe, I never ſpoke thoſe words.* Then one mentioned that ſhe ſhould have ſaid, *ſhe had been in paradiſe.* To which ſhe anſwered, *Yea, I have been in paradiſe theſe ſeveral days.* And more ſhe ſpoke of the eternal happineſs, into which ſhe was now to enter. Thus Mary Dyer departed this life, a conſtant and faithful martyr to Chriſt, having been twice led to death, which the firſt time ſhe expected with an entire reſignation of mind to the will of God, and now ſuffered with chriſtian fortitude, being raiſed above the fear of death, through a bleſſed hope, and glorious aſſurance of eternal life and immortality.

Eleven others in priſon.

There were at this time * eleven others priſoners in Boſton, of whom Chriſtopher Holder was ſentenced to baniſhment upon pain of death, ſix were ſentenced to be whipped, and four ordered to depart the colony.

Having now brought up the tranſactions of the government of Maſſachuſets Bay, in relation to the Quakers, to the preſent period of this hiſtory, it is time to take a view of the proceedings againſt this people in other colonies. The colony of New Plymouth copied after that of the Maſſachuſets, as appears by a letter of James Cudworth, who had borne the offices of a magiſtrate and a captain or commiſſion officer there, till he reſigned the one, and was diſcharged from the other, for diſcovering ſome humanity to the perſecuted Quakers, of which letter to a friend in London, as from an impartial hand, I copy an abſtract,

* Chriſtopher Holder, Daniel Gould, Robert Harper, William King, Margaret Smith, Mary Traſk, Provided Southick, Hannah Phelps, Mary Scott and Hope Clifton.

CHAP. XVI. 1660.

abſtract, as an authentic relation of the meaſures purſued by this government in their treatment of this people.

Abſtract of James Cudworth's letter.

" As for the ſtate and condition of things " amongſt us it is ſad and like ſo to continue; " the antichriſtian, perſecuting ſpirit is very " active. He that will not whip, perſecute and " puniſh men that differ in matters of religion, " muſt not ſit on the bench, nor ſuſtain any " office in the commonwealth. Laſt election " Mr. Hatherly and myſelf left off the bench, " and I was diſcharged of my captainſhip becauſe " I had entertained ſome of the Quakers at my " houſe, that I might be the better acquainted with " their principles: I thought it better to do ſo, " than with the blind world to cenſure, condemn, " rail at, and revile them, when they neither " ſaw their perſons nor knew any of their prin- " ciples; but the Quakers and myſelf cannot " cloſe in divers things; and ſo I ſignified to " the court I was no Quaker—— but withal told " them, that as I was no Quaker, ſo I would be " no perſecutor: This ſpirit did work the two " years that I was in the magiſtracy, during " which time I was on ſundry occaſions forced " to declare my diſſent in ſundry actings of that " nature, which though done with all modera- " tion and due reſpect, yet wrought great diſ- " affection and prejudice in them againſt me, " and produced a petition to the court againſt " me, ſigned with nineteen hands, which was " followed by another in my favour ſigned with " fifty-four hands——The court returned in an- " ſwer to the laſt petition, that they acknow-

ledged

1660.

" ledged my parts and gifts, and profeſſed they " had nothing againſt me, only in the thing of " my giving entertainment to the Quakers, " though I broke no law in ſo doing, for our law " then was, *If any entertain a Quaker, and keep " him after he is warned by a magiſtrate to depart, " he ſhall pay 20s. a week for entertaining him.* " But ſince that a law hath been made, *That if " any entertain a* Quaker, *though but a quarter " of an hour, he ſhall forfeit 5l.* Another, *That " if any ſee a* Quaker, *he is bound, though he live " ſix miles or more from a conſtable, to give imme- " diate notice to him, or elſe be ſubject to the cen- " ſure of the court.* Another—*That if the con- " ſtable know or hear of any* Quaker *in his pre- " cincts, he is preſently to apprehend him, and if " he will not preſently depart the town, to whip " and ſend him away.* Divers have been whipped " within our patent; and truly to tell you plain- " ly, the whipping of them with that cruelty, as " ſome of them have been whipped, and their " patience under it, hath ſometimes been the " occaſion of gaining more adherents to them, " than if they had ſuffered them openly to have " preached a ſermon.

" Another law made againſt the *Quakers* is, " That if there be a Quakers-meeting any where " in this colony, the party in whoſe houſe or on " whoſe ground it is, ſhall pay 40s. the preacher " 40s. and every hearer 40s. Our laſt law is— " That the Quakers are to be apprehended, and " carried before a magiſtrate, and by him com- " mitted to cloſe priſon till they will promiſe to " depart, and never come again, and will alſo " pay their fees (neither of which they will ever " do) and they muſt be kept only with the coun- " try allowance (which is coarſe bread and water.)

" No

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" No friend may bring them any thing, nor be " permitted to ſpeak to them; nay, if they have " money of their own, they may not make uſe " of it to relieve themſelves.

" All theſe carnal and antichriſtian ways being " not of God's appointment, effect nothing as " to the obſtructing or hindering them in their " way or courſe. It is only the word and ſpirit " of the Lord that is able to convince gainſay- " ers; theſe are the mighty weapons of a chriſ- " tian's warfare, by which mighty things are " done and accompliſhed.

" The Quakers have many meetings and many " adherents, almoſt the whole town of Sandwich " is adhering to them. Their ſufferings are " grievous to, and ſadden the hearts of moſt of " the pious and virtuous part of this common- " wealth, it lies down and riſes up with them, and " they cannot put it out of their minds——The " Maſſachuſets have baniſhed ſix on pain of death, " and I wiſh that blood may not be ſhed: Our " poor people are pillaged and plundered of their " goods, and haply when they have no more to " ſatisfy the inſatiable deſire of their perſecutors, " may be forced to fly, and glad to have their " lives for a prey.

" The means whereby they are impoveriſhed, " are their ſcrupling an oath, and for their " meetings: It being found that they had a con- " ſcientious ſcruple againſt ſwearing, all were " called upon to take the oath of fidelity, which " they refuſing, a clauſe was added, That if any " man refuſed or neglected to take it by ſuch a " time, he ſhould pay 5l. or depart the colony: " They are required to take the oath again at " every ſucceſſive court, and as they cannot, they " are diſtrained over and over again. On this

" account

" account thirty-five head of cattle, as I have CHAP
" been credibly informed, have been by the XVI.
" authority of our court taken from them the 1660.
" latter part of this ſummer.

" The laſt court of aſſiſtants—the court was
" pleaſed to determine fines on Sandwich men
" for meetings 150l. whereof William Newland
" is charged 24l. for himſelf and wife; William
" Allen 46l. and a poor weaver 20l. Brother
" Cook told me, one of the brethren was in the
" houſe, when the marſhal came to demand the
" money, when all that he was worth did not
" amount to 10l. What will be the end of ſuch
" courſes or practices the Lord only knows!

" Our civil powers are ſo exerciſed in mat-
" ters of religion and conſcience, that we have
" no time to do any thing that tends to promote
" the civil proſperity of the place. We muſt
" now have a ſtate religion, ſuch as the powers
" of this world will allow, and no other; a ſtate
" miniſtry and a ſtate way of maintenance, and
" we muſt worſhip and ſerve the Lord Jeſus
" as the world ſhall appoint us; we muſt all
" go to the publick place of meeting in the pa-
" riſh where we dwell, or be preſented. I am
" informed of three or fourſcore laſt court pre-
" ſented for not coming to public meetings, at
" ten ſhillings a time.

" We are wrapped up in a labyrinth of con-
" fuſed laws, that the freemen's power is quite
" gone. Sandwich men may not go to the bay,
" leſt they be taken up for Quakers. William
" Newland was there about his occaſions ten
" days ago, and they put him in priſon twenty-
" four hours, and ſent for divers to witneſs
" againſt him, but had not proof enough to
" make him a Quaker, which if they had, he

" ſhould

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" ſhould have been whipped; nay, they may
" not go about their occaſions in other towns in
" our colony; but warrants lie in ambuſh to
" apprehend and bring them before a magiſtrate,
" to give an account of their buſineſs.

" JAMES CUDWORTH."

I do not find that during this period, any of thoſe called Quakers had as yet viſited any other of the American ſettlements on the continent, except the Dutch colony of New Amſterdam, (now New York) where ſome of them, particularly Robert Hodgſon, underwent grievous ſufferings from the Dutch governor, by the inſtigation and example of the New England perſecutors. But the Dutch governor after ſome time relented, excuſed their impriſoning and baniſhing, as being ſhort of the cruelty of the Quakers own countrymen in New England: And John Bound having been treated very hardly by him, impriſoned in a cold dungeon, almoſt famiſhed there, and baniſhed to Holland, where the ſtates giving him his liberty he returned home again; and ſome time after the governor meeting him in the ſtreet, ſeemed aſhamed of what he had done, and told him *He was glad to ſee him ſafe home again;* adding, *he hoped he ſhould never do ſo any more to any of his friends:* A token of repentance, and of an ingenuous diſpoſition, ſuch as few, if any, of the New England perſecutors ever diſcovered.

Robert Hodgſon.

J. Bound.

Except alſo the province of *Maryland*, where in or about the year 1658 ſeveral of the inhabitants, being convinced of the principles of the people called Quakers, were brought under ſuffering, but in little degree of compariſon with the

the ſufferings in New England, being moſtly in fines for non-compliance with the military laws, and their conſcientious refuſal to take an oath.

CHAP. XVII.

EUROPE and ASIA.

William Caton goes to Calais.—Afterwards to Holland with John Stubbs.—To Holland a ſecond Time.—William Caton at Rotterdam and Amſterdam meets with little ſatisfaction.—Is impriſoned at Middleburgh, and ſent back to England.—Chriſtopher Birkhead goes to France.—Thence to Middleburgh in Zealand.—Accuſation againſt him.—His Defence.—He is condemned to the Raſphouſe for two Years.—George Bailey dies in Priſon in France.—George Robinſon, in a Journey to Jeruſalem, meets with a Variety of Dangers.—Through which he was preſerved to return home in ſafety.—Mary Fiſher travels to Adrianople to viſit Sultan Mahomet 4th.—By whom her Viſit is favourably received.

THE divine light which the people called Quakers believed in and teſtified of, they believed to be univerſal. "That true light, which "lighteth every man that cometh into the "world." So was their good-will to mankind, and deſire to bring them to the acknowledgment of the truth, and to turn the attention of their minds to

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to this light, alſo univerſal. They did not confine their labours and travels, in this early day, to the Britiſh dominions ſolely; but from a convincing evidence of a divine impulſe upon their ſpirits, and a neceſſity of obedience thereunto, they were animated to travel, even as with their lives in their hands, into different ſtates of the continent of Europe, and even into Aſia, to bear teſtimony to the truth, in the face of its greateſt oppoſers; for being ſupported by the inward conſciouſneſs of being engaged in a good cauſe, they were borne up above the fear of man; and feeling the divine preſence accompanying them through the greateſt difficulties, ſome of them were enabled chearfully to lay down their lives in his ſervice, who, they believed, had called them thereto; and others were preſerved by ſignal deliverances from imminent dangers, to which they were expoſed.

W. Caton goes to Calais.

William Caton being at Dover, as before related, went over to Calais, where his ſpirit was burdened in beholding the idolatry of their worſhip, but he could not eaſe his ſpirit by pointing out to them a better way, as he was not maſter of the French language; and therefore was on the point of returning home without finding any opportunity of ſervice there; yet afterwards it was ordered, that ſeveral of the principal inhabitants ſought him out, and gave him a favourable hearing at a large houſe in the town, where a Scotch Lord interpreting for him, he cleared his conſcience in declaring the doctrines of truth, and then departed without moleſtation.

To Holland with John Stubbs.

Upon his return to Dover he found his companion John Stubbs there, with whom he paſſed over to Holland, but they found little favour-

able

able reception for their miniſtry there at that time. CHAP. XVII.

In the next year, 1656, William Ames, John Stubbs and William Caton went over to Holland again. At Amſterdam they met with ſome Engliſh people. who received the doctrine they preached, but the impreſſion it made upon them was not laſting. William Caton travelled to Rotterdam, where for want of an interpreter that underſtood Engliſh, he was obliged to deliver himſelf in Latin. Here he was much troubled in meeting with ſome wild and unruly perſons, who having been partly convinced by William Ames, went under the denomination of Quakers, but ran out in ſuch whimſical imaginations and unmeaning extravagancies in their expreſſions, writings and conduct, that the magiſtrates thought them not unfit objects for impriſonment in Bedlam. The ringleader of theſe people was one Iſaac Furnier, a paſſionate, capricious man, placing holineſs in abſurd conduct, and incedent incivility of language, with whom the genuine Quakers could have no unity, although he had tranſlated ſeveral of their writings into the Dutch language, and thereby might ſeem to lay claim to the name. At laſt he turned Papiſt, and fell into a diſſolute, debauched life. 1656. To Holland a ſecond time.

From Rotterdam William Caton returned to Amſterdam, but met with little more ſatisfaction there. For there were ſeveral profeſſors, who were ready to approve the doctrine of the Quakers, but being airy notioniſts, were more intent in comprehending it in theory, than reducing it to practice, too wiſe for inſtruction, and too full of their own wiſdom and ſpeculations to receive the truth in the love of it. Amongſt ſuch opinionated W. Caton at Amſterdam meets with little ſatisfaction.

CHAP. XVII.

nionated profeſſors ſeeing little probability of much ſervice, he left them, and returned by Rotterdam to Zealand; arriving at Middleburgh in company with a young man, who went to ſome of their meeting places in that city, he was apprehended. William Caton hearing of his impriſonment, and going to viſit him in priſon, was himſelf detained there ſome days; but being at that time indiſpoſed, the magiſtrates ordered them both to be ſent to England. In conſequence whereof they were conducted by a guard of ſoldiers on board a ſhip of war, where William Caton in his infirm ſtate ſuffered great hardſhip, the ſeamen being ſo ill natured, that they would not allow him ſo much as a piece of ſail cloth, but he was obliged to lie upon the bare boards in very cold and ſtormy weather; yet through the merciful ſupport of divine providence under this hard uſage, he recovered ſtrength till he arrived in London, where he was received with much cordiality by his friends.

1656.

Is impriſoned at Middleburgh and ſent to England.

1657.

Chriſtopher Birkhead went over to France, and was impriſoned at Rochelle for advancing ſome objections againſt the Romiſh religion, where he was firſt examined by the biſhop; and ſome bigotted zealots wanted to have him condemned to the flames, but the criminal judge abſolved him. After which in the beginning of this year he travelled into Holland, and arriving at Middleburgh, he went to the Engliſh congregation there, and after their preacher William Spank had preached about three quarters of an hour, he thus ſpake, "Friends, the Apoſtles "ſaith, That we may propheſy one by one, "that two or three prophets may ſpeak, and "the others judge, and if any thing be revealed

Chr. Birkhead goes to France,

thence to Middleburgh in Zealand.

"to

" to him that ſits by, let the firſt hold his peace." This cauſed a great ſtir in the congregation, whereupon Birkhead, inſtead of being further heard, was apprehended and detained in cuſtody. On the 19th 1mo. 1657, the following charge was exhibited againſt him. CHAP. XVII. 1657.

Accuſation againſt him.

" The bailiff of the city of Middleburgh
" demandeth, according to his office, againſt
" Chriſtopher Birkhead.

" WHEREAS the ſaid Chriſtopher Birkhead
" is a maker of uproars, ſeditions, and a blaſ-
" phemer againſt the ſervants, miniſters or
" preachers of the reformed churches,

" Therefore it is demanded, that the enſuing
" puniſhments be inflicted on him; firſt, that he
" be brought before the Stadthouſe, and there
" be put upon a ſcaffold and whipped with rods,
" and burned with the mark of this city of
" Middleburgh, and for ſome years to be put
" in the Raſp-houſe, and there to raſp and
" work, the time left to the diſcretion of the
" Lords, and afterwards to be baniſhed out of
" the juriſdiction of theſe lands."

Remark.

I regret that occaſions occur ſo frequently in the progreſs of this work, to remark the unchriſtian temper and vindictive ſpirit which actuated thoſe high profeſſors of religion, who aſſumed to themſelves the title of *reformed churches*, in different quarters of the world; as the repetition of reflections naturally ariſing from my ſubject, may be miſconſtrued to ariſe from a perſonal diſlike to this body of men: But as I truſt I am diſpoſed and deſirous to pay a proper regard to the reformed religion in its purity, viz. ſincerity of heart toward God, in my own conduct, ſo I highly reſpect it in all men, and every

ſociety

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ſociety of men under whatever denomination they may be diſtinguiſhed. My reflections are not pointed ſo much at any body of men, as at things diſgraceful to every body of men. Not at any profeſſion of religion, but at things inconſiſtent with religion and morality; *cruelty*, *malice*, *injuſtice and revenge*, being properties as oppoſite to chriſtianity, as darkneſs to light.

It is evident that the puniſhments demanded againſt this man are quite diſproportionate to any juſt offence he had given, by ſimply reminding an auditory of the apoſtolical order eſtabliſhed in the worſhip of the primitive church, as an introduction to what he thought it his duty to declare unto them. The charge and the requiſition of puniſhment bear the plain marks of paſſion, injuſtice and virulence, putting an offender, in ſo ſmall an inſtance, on a level with the baſeſt criminals, and incenſing the magiſtrates to inflict on an honeſt man, for an action ſimply religious, the ſevereſt and moſt diſgraceful puniſhments the malice of his perſecutors could contrive.

Chr. Birkhead puts in his defence.

The priſoner put in his defence, in reply to the charges exhibited againſt him; wherein he denies and confutes them all: that he made no uproar or ſedition, ſuch a thing being the fartheſt from his diſpoſition, thoughts or intention. That he was no more a maker of uproars than Paul and Silas at Thyatira (Acts xvi, 19.) Or than Paul was at Epheſus, when no ſmall ſtir aroſe about that way (Acts ix, 23, &c.) That if any uproar was made, juſtice pointed out for puniſhment thoſe who made it, who were the rude multitude, that gave him much perſonal abuſe, and caſt him into priſon, when he neither did or thought evil againſt them. As to the charge

charge of his being a * blaſphemer againſt the ſervants, miniſters or preachers of the reformed churches, he anſwered, "The ſervants of the "church reformed by Chriſt are my brethren, "and the miniſters and preachers thereof I ho- "nour in the Lord, but if any profeſs to be re- "formed and live in iniquity, ſuch I diſown."

Next, in regard to the required puniſhments of whipping and branding, he aſſerted himſelf no beggar nor infamous perſon, having aſked for nothing but what he paid for; and had brought a ſufficiency from home to bear his charges thither again, if not reſtrained by them too long in a foreign land.

And as to the third puniſhment, of being committed to the Raſp-houſe, he ſignified, he was not an idle perſon who had need to be forced to work, but was a man diligent in his outward employments to maintain his family, of which he could produce many witneſſes, if he might have permiſſion to write home: and in this puniſhment that his ſuffering would not be ſingle, but that of his wife and children would be involved in it.

His defence prevented the inflicting of the more ignominious parts of the demanded puniſhments; but the magiſtrates gratified his adverſaries ſo far as to ſentence him to be put in the Raſp-houſe for two years, and then be baniſhed, and pay all the charge. Accordingly he was put into the Raſp-houſe, and continued there two years, ſuffering much hardſhip. And after the expiration of the time, he was ſtill detained under pretence of fees and other claims made by

He is condemned to the Raſp-houſe for two years.

* This word is uſed here in a very uncommon and unſcriptural ſenſe.

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the keeper, till at length he was ſet at liberty by the interpoſition of Heer Newport, ambaſſador of the States-General in England. A very ſevere puniſhment for uttering a portion of ſcripture.

G. Bailey goes to France and dies in priſon.

About the ſame time George Bailey coming into France, and zealouſly teſtifying againſt popery and worſhipping of images, was apprehended and caſt into priſon, and there ended his days.

G. Robinſon goes to Jeruſalem and meets with a variety of occurrences.

[e] In this year alſo George Robinſon, a young man of London, found himſelf conſtrained, from an internal conviction of duty, to travel to Jeruſalem, to bear teſtimony againſt the idolatry of pilgrimages. Accordingly he embarked for Leghorn, and from thence took ſhipping for St. John D'acra, ſo called, formerly Ptolemais in Aſia, and from thence continued his courſe to Joppa, and thence to Ramoth; but the friars at Jeruſalem having received intelligence of his approach, and that his teſtimony ſtruck at the ſuperſtition, whereby they were ſupported, procured him here to be intercepted and confined. After about twenty-four hours impriſonment, an ancient Turk of reputation took him to his houſe, and entertained him with much civility ſeveral days; at length an Iriſh friar came from Jeruſalem, and informed him that he was ſent by his fraternity there to propoſe to him three queſtions, viz.

1. Whether he would promiſe, when he came to Jeruſalem, to viſit the holy places, as other pilgrims did?

2. Whether he would pay ſuch ſums of money as it was cuſtomary with pilgrims to pay?

3. Whether

[e] Beſſe, v. ii.

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3. Whether he would wear ſuch a habit as pilgrims uſually wear?

To which queſtions the following injunctions were added:

1. Not to ſpeak any thing againſt the *Turkiſh* laws.

2. When he ſhould come to Jeruſalem not to ſpeak any thing about religion.

But ſteadfaſtly refuſing to anſwer their queſtions, or to ſubmit to their injunctions, he was, by the ſaid friar, who had brought with him a guard of horſe and foot for that purpoſe, taken forcibly away, carried back to Joppa, and there embarked in a veſſel, which landed him again at St. John D'acra; here he was hoſpitably entertained by a French merchant, and by his aſſiſtance, being ſtill under an apprehenſion of duty to proſecute his journey, he got an opportunity to return to Joppa, and from thence travelled on foot to Ramoth. On the road he fell into the hands of three robbers, who plundered him, but either by reaſon of his innocent behaviour moving them to compaſſion, or the ordering of Divine Providence, they returned him what they had taken from him, and conducted him a little on his way in a friendly manner. Upon his arrival at Ramoth he was ſeized by the contrivance of the friars, and forcibly carried into one of the Turkiſh moſques, it being ſaid to be a cuſtom amongſt the Turks, that whoſoever enters one of their moſques muſt either turn mahometan or ſuffer death. He was accordingly interrogated, "Whether he "would turn to the Mahometan religion?" And upon his refuſing, they preſſed him with much

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ſolicitation; but he perſiſting in his refuſal, and letting them know he could not turn to their religion for all the world, ſome of them at length grew angry, and declared if he did not turn to their religion he ſhould die; to which, replying, "He would rather chuſe the hard "alternative of ſuffering death than violate his "conſcience by turning to them," he was delivered to the executioner, who dragged him away to the place, where it was expected, he ſhould be burned to death. Here they cauſed him to ſit down on the ground, as a ſheep amongſt wolves. As he ſat, reſigned in his mind, with inward ſupplication, and truſt in divine protection, the divine Providence interpoſed for his deliverance, for ſome of the Turks having obſerved that his entrance into the moſque was not voluntary, but by a crafty contrivance of the friars to enſnare him, they began to differ in their opinions about him, when a grave ancient Turk came to him, and told him, *Whether he would turn to their religion or not, he ſhould not die.* Then being brought before the prieſts again, and the query put to him, *Will you turn?* and he anſwering, *No*, they recorded in a book, that *he was no Roman Catholick, but of another religion*; for though he owned himſelf a Chriſtian, yet his declarations againſt their ſuperſtitions, and the enmity of the friars againſt him, plainly diſcovered he was not of their communion. Next, the friars having exerted themſelves to incenſe the Baſha of Gaza againſt him, and hoping that by their inſinuations they had made him Robinſon's enemy, they hired a guard of horſemen to conduct him to Gaza, where being arrived,

rived, he found things had taken an unexpected turn in his favour; for ſome of the Turks having informed the Baſha of the malice of the friars againſt the man, he made them pay a conſiderable fine, and obliged them to convey him ſafely to Jeruſalem. Being come thither, he was, by the appointment of the friars, brought into their convent. CHAP. XVII. 1657.

Here the friars uſed every artifice to prevail with him to conform to the ſuperſtitious cuſtoms of the pilgrims of their communion, in viſiting the holy places, (as they termed them) offering, in that caſe, to relinquiſh their uſual demands, and that *whereas others paid great ſums of money to ſee them, he ſhould ſee them for nothing*; but believing his miſſion as to them was to bear teſtimony againſt the ſuperſtitious veneration for thoſe places, propagated and upheld by them for filthy lucre, he ſteadfaſtly reſiſted all their ſolicitations and flattering perſuaſions, alledged, *that in viſiting thoſe places in their manner he ſhould ſin againſt God:* That *they under a pretence of doing ſervice to God, in viſiting thoſe places where the holy men of God dwelt, did oppoſe that way, and reſiſt that life, which the holy men of God walked and lived in*; upon which one of the friars ſaid, "What do "you preach to us for?" To which he anſwered, *That he would have them turn from thoſe evil practices, elſe the wrath of the Almighty would be kindled againſt them.* This doctrine being highly ungrateful they inſiſted upon his paying five and twenty dollars, under pretence that the Turks muſt be paid, whether he would viſit the uſual places or not, but if he would viſit them they would pay for him; but he ſignified,

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ſignified, *He could not comply with any ſuch unreaſonable demands.*

Then they brought him before a Turk in authority in that place, who aſked him divers queſtions, to which he returned ſolid anſwers. And entering into converſation about the worſhip of Chriſtians, the Turk aſked Robinſon, *What was the cauſe of his coming to Jeruſalem?* To which he anſwered, *It was by the command of the Lord God of heaven and earth he came thither; and that the great and tender love of God was manifeſt in viſiting them, his compaſſionate mercies being ſuch as that he would gather them in this the day of his gathering.*

Returns in ſafety.

Having borne his teſtimony againſt the ſuperſtition of the friars, and diſcharged himſelf of the meſſage he believed himſelf ſent to deliver, he found, as he declared, great peace with the Lord, magnifying his glorious name, who had favoured him with his ſupporting power, and ſignally preſerved him through many trials and dangers; for the friars, who had intended him a miſchief, and meditated his deſtruction, were reſtrained by the authority of the Turks, and by them obliged to conduct him back again to Ramoth. Thus delivered from the hands of his enemies he returned to his native country.

Mary Fiſher hath a concern to viſit Sultan Mahomet IV.

[f] But the concern of Mary Fiſher, a religious maiden, whoſe ſufferings in New England have been already related, is ſtill more remarkable, both for the extraordinary nature thereof, and the reception ſhe met with. Being returned to London, ſhe felt a religious concern upon her mind, to pay a viſit to Sultan Mahomet IV. then encamped

[f] Beſſe, vol. ii. p. 394.

encamped with his army near Adrianople. Accordingly she proceeded on her way as far as Smyrna, where she was stopped by the English consul and sent back to Venice, from whence she made her way by land to Adrianople, being preserved from any manner of abuse through a long journey of five or six hundred miles. Being come thither, she communicated her business to some of the citizens, and requested them to accompany her to the camp, but fearing the Sultan's displeasure they declined compliance, wherefore she went to the camp alone, and procured intelligence to be given to the Grand Vizier, that *there was an English woman who had something to declare from the great God to the Sultan*, who sent her word that *she should speak to him the next morning*. She returned to the city that night, and back to the camp at the time appointed, when the Sultan, attended by his great officers of state, sent for her in, and asked her, *Whether what had been reported to him was fact, that she had a message from the Lord?* She answered in the affirmative; upon which he bid her *speak on*; and as she stood silent a little, with her mind retired in inward supplication, and waiting for the proper motion and power to give weight and energy to what she had to deliver, the Sultan supposing she might be oppressed with awe, to utter herself before them all, asked her whether *she desired that any of the company might retire?* she answered, *Nay*; then he desired her to speak the word of the Lord to them, and not to fear, for they had good hearts, and could hear it; strictly charging her to *speak the word she had to say from the Lord, neither more nor less*, for they

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Is favourably received.

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they were willing to hear it, be it what it would. Upon her ſpeaking they all gave attention with much ſerioufneſs and gravity 'till ſhe had concluded, and then the Sultan enquired *if ſhe had any more to ſay.* She aſked, if he underſtood what ſhe had ſaid? He replied, *Yea, every word*, adding that *it was truth*, and deſired her to ſtay in the country, for they could not but reſpect one who had taken ſo much pains as to come ſo far with ſuch a meſſage, and offered her a guard to eſcort her to Conſtantinople, whither ſhe intended to go; which kind offer ſhe modeſtly declined, confiding in that divine arm which had brought her thither for her ſafe conduct home again. He reminded her it was dangerous travelling alone, eſpecially for ſuch a one as her, and ſeemed to admire ſhe had paſſed ſafe ſo far, adding, *it was out of reſpectful concern for her ſafety he offered her a guard, as he would not for any conſideration ſhe ſhould ſuffer the leaſt injury in his dominions.* Then they aſked, *What ſhe thought of their prophet Mahomet?* She made a cautious reply, that *ſhe knew him not; but ſhe knew Chriſt, the true prophet, the ſon of God; who was the light of the world, and enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world*, adding, *If the word that the prophet ſpeaketh cometh to paſs, then ſhall ye know that the Lord hath ſent that prophet; but if it come not to paſs, then ſhall ye know the Lord never ſent him*; to which they aſſented, and acknowledged it to be truth; and ſo ſhe departed to Conſtantinople without a guard, and arrived there in ſafety without the leaſt injury or inſult, and afterwards in England. When we contraſt this candid

candid reception which ſhe met with from thoſe we account infidels, with that which ſhe found amongſt the ſelf-opinionated profeſſors of chriſtianity in New England, we cannot but regret, that the beſt religion the world was ever bleſſed with, and in its own purity ſo far ſurpaſſing in excellence, ſhould, on the compariſon with human infidelity, be ſo tarniſhed, through the degeneracy of its profeſſors, who under the name of Chriſtian, in morality, generoſity and humanity, fall ſhort of thoſe who name not the name of Chriſt. Is not her remarkable preſervation in this long and tedious journey an argument of the truth of her miſſion, and of divine Providence protecting her in the performance of her duty, and in yielding obedience to divine requirings.

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HISTORY

HISTORY

OF THE

PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

BOOK III.

From the Reſtoration of King Charles II. to his Declaration of Indulgence.

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The Members of the Preſbyterian Party reſtored to their Seats in Parliament.—A new Parliament elected.—The King reſtored.—Seven Hundred of the People called Quakers releaſed from Priſon.—The Mayor of Lancaſter impriſons George Fox.—Margaret Fell's Narrative of his Apprehenſion.—She lays his Caſe before the King.—Habeas Corpus obtained to remove him to the King's Bench.—Referred to the King and Council.—He is ſet at liberty.—Richard Hubberthorn hath a Conference with the King.

THE convulſed ſtate of the nation at this period inciting moſt men of moderation and conſequence to an earneſt wiſh for ſome ſettled ſtable form of government, paved the way for the

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the exiled prince's reſtoration to the throne of his anceſtors. The members of the Preſbyterian party, who were ſecluded in 1648, being by Monk reſtored to their ſeats in parliament, upon their entrance, the independent members finding themſelves the minority, withdrew, and left the management of affairs to their antagoniſts, who ſoon after diſſolved their aſſembly, and iſſued writs for the election of a free parliament, which meeting on the 25th of the month called April, the houſe of lords received a letter from the king from Breda, expreſſing his hopes, that as they were now reſtored to their privileges, they would uſe their endeavours to appeaſe the troubles of the kingdom, re-eſtabliſh himſelf in poſſeſſion of his juſt prerogatives, the parliament in that of their privileges, and the people of their liberties. At the ſame time his declaration was delivered, wherein, amongſt other benefits to the ſubject, he promiſed to indulge tender and ſcrupulous conſciences in matters of religion *. And a like letter and declaration being alſo delivered to the commons, King Charles the ſecond was in conſequence reſtored to the ſovereignty of theſe kingdoms by the united conſent

The members of the Preſbyterian party reſtored to their ſeats in parliament.

A free parliament elected.

The king reſtored.

* "Becauſe the paſſion and uncharitableneſs of the times "have produced ſeveral opinions in religion, by which men "are engaged in parties and animoſities againſt each other, "which when they ſhall hereafter unite in a freedom of "converſation, will be compoſed or better underſtood, We "do declare a liberty to tender conſciences; and that no man "ſhall be diſquieted or called in queſtion for differences of "opinion in matters of religion, which do not diſturb the "peace of the kingdom, and that we ſhall be ready to con-"ſent to ſuch an *act of parliament*, as upon mature deliberation ſhall be offered to us for the full granting that indul-"gence." King Charles's declaration from Breda.

conſent of the other two eſtates of the nation, and after an exile of twelve years, in which he had ſuffered many ſlights and diſtreſſes; after ſundry ineffectual efforts of his partiſans to reſtore him by the ſword, through the ordering hand of Divine Providence, he was at laſt peaceably reſtored without bloodſhed. 1660.

The ſociety of thoſe called Quakers, at leaſt, (as appears by their writings) in general, looked upon the reſtoration of the king as a ſignal inſtance of the interpoſition of Divine Providence in reſtoring peace and order to the diſtracted nation, of which they were not wanting repeatedly to remind both the king and people: And if theſe had looked upon it in the ſame light with becoming gratitude and thankfulneſs, they might have been preſerved in a greater propriety of conduct; but this revolution in the government was productive of a ſcandalous alteration in the manners of the age. This king, and many of his courtiers, having in their exile, through a ſeaſon of ſucceſſive indolence, and from their averſion to the preciſe formality of the authors of their humiliation, contracted habits of voluptuouſneſs, ſenſuality and libertiniſm in ſentiment and morals; by their example, and the propenſity of human nature, more ſagacious to deſcry error than to inveſtigate truth, to tranſgreſs the limits of rectitude and to run from one extreme to another; the nation, in too general a way, became very corrupt and licentious in their way of thinking and conduct. Becauſe the late rulers appeared to have diſguiſed pernicious deſigns under a maſk of religion, it became faſhionable to ridicule every appearance of religion and of ſobriety as mere hypocriſy; and

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and in this averſion to the appearance, the reality was loſt. The temper of the age was truly irreligious, and debauchery, riot and intemperance, to a great degree, took place of the apparent decorum and regard to ſobriety in the manners of the preceding age *.

In

* Neale gives the following deſcription of the temper of the people under this and the preceding governments:

"The dreſs and converſation of the people was ſober and "virtuous, and their manner of living remarkably frugal: "There was hardly a ſingle bankruptcy to be heard of in a "year, and in ſuch a caſe the bankrupt had a mark of "infamy upon him, that he could never wipe off. Drunken- "neſs, fornication, profane ſwearing, and every kind of "debauchery were juſtly deemed infamous, and univerſally "diſcountenanced. The clergy were laborious to exceſs in "preaching and praying, in catechiſing youth, and viſiting "their pariſhes. The magiſtrates did their duty in ſup- "preſſing all kinds of games, ſtage plays and abuſes in public "houſes. There was not a play acted on any theatre in "*England* for almoſt twenty years.

"But when the legal conſtitution was reſtored, there "returned with it a torrent of debauchery and wickedneſs. "The times which followed the reſtoration were the reverſe "of thoſe that preceded it; for the laws which had been "enacted againſt vice for the laſt twenty years being declared "null, and the magiſtrates changed, men ſet no bounds to "their licentiouſneſs. There were two play-houſes erected "in the neighbourhood of the court. *Women actreſſes* were "introduced into the theatres, which had not been known "till that time; the moſt lewd and obſcene plays were "brought on the ſtage, and the more obſcene the better was "the king pleaſed, who graced every new play with his royal "preſence. Nothing was to be ſeen at court but feaſting, hard "drinking, revelling and amorous intrigues, which engen- "dered the moſt enormous vices. From court the contagion "ſpread like wild fire among the people, inſomuch that men "threw off the very profeſſion of virtue and piety." Neale's hiſtory of the Puritans, vol. ii. p. 564, 565.

In this interval of general joy and feſtivity the Quakers (ſo called) enjoyed a good degree of quiet and reſpite from the grievous ſufferings to which they had been for many years expoſed under the preceding governments; their meetings in London and moſt other parts were large, and held without moleſtation during the firſt ſix months after the King's reſtoration. Cruelty was not reckoned amongſt the vices to which this monarch was addicted, the eaſineſs of his temper inclining to lenity, he appeared at this time well diſpoſed to act up to his profeſſions in his declaration from Breda. At the interceſſion of Margaret Fell and others he releaſed about ſeven hundred of this people, who had been impriſoned under the government of Oliver and Richard Cromwell, and an order was drawn up for permitting them the free exerciſe of their worſhip; but by ſome in authority, of leſs placable diſpoſitions, who diſapproved of any toleration, as being retentive of the injuries they conceived themſelves to have ſuffered from the diſſenters during their rule, and deſirous of an opportunity to retaliate: the ratification and iſſuing of this order was obſtructed, till the inſurrection of the fifth-monarchy-men furniſhed them the opportunity they wanted, and gave them a pretext to commence the oppreſſive meaſures which they had in contemplation.

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Friends releaſed from priſon.

Yet in ſome parts they were greatly moleſted and abuſed in their religious meetings during this interval. Some of the inferior magiſtrates of the former claſs, who ſtill retained their places, and their inimical diſpoſitions towards this body of people, continued to be vexatious

to

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to them; in particular, Henry Porter, mayor of Lancaſter, a weak temporizing man, who had been a zealous partiſan of the republicans, and very active againſt the King's intereſt, in order, it is like, to make an atonement for his paſt miſdemeanours, and to ingratiate himſelf with the preſent powers, from a pretended zeal for the King, committed George Fox to priſon, very unjuſtly and illegally. In the courſe of his travels he came to Skipton to a general meeting, which had been ſeveral years eſtabliſhed there, (before the general eſtabliſhment of meetings of diſcipline) for the charitable purpoſe of aſſiſting and making proviſion for the poor amongſt them; for many, as we have ſeen, were reduced to poverty by exorbitant fines, ſevere diſtreſſes and impriſonments, ſo that numbers were ſpoiled of the whole of their property through the malice of unreaſonable men. It had frequently happened that juſtices and military officers coming to break up this meeting, when they ſaw their books, and accounts of their collections and diſburſements, and the care that was taken that one county ſhould help another, as circumſtances might require, inſtead of executing their purpoſe, have been obliged to commend their care, and leave them undiſturbed in the exerciſe of the laudable object of their meeting. The poor of other ſocieties frequently gathering in crouds upon theſe occaſions partook of their liberality, it being their cuſtom, after the meeting was over, to ſend to the bakers for bread, and diſtribute a loaf to each, how many ſoever they were; yet theſe are the men on whom the contemptuous epithet of fanatick was ſo freely beſtowed,

1660. Henry Porter, mayor of Lancaſter, commits G. Fox to priſon.

beſtowed, by thoſe who had no right to apply the appellation, for their religion inſtructed them to do good to all, but eſpecially to the houſehold of faith; and never to introduce diſorder in the ſtate, or do injury to any man. CHAP. I. 1660.

From this meeting he went over by Lancaſter to Swarthmore to the houſe of Margaret Fell, who was now a widow, her huſband having been deceaſed about two years before: This was about the time of the King's reſtoration, being in the month called June, when four conſtables came to the ſaid houſe with a warrant from the aforeſaid Porter, apprehended him, and took him that night to Ulverſton, where they kept him under a guard of fifteen or ſixteen men, ſome of whom kept centry at the chimney, for fear he ſhould eſcape by that paſſage, ſo darkened were they by ſuperſtitious imaginations. Next morning they eſcorted him to Lancaſter, expoſing him to much abuſive and contumelious treatment; cauſing him to ride on an horſe behind the ſaddle, and otherwiſe manifeſting their malicious temper in their ill uſage of him; and brought him before the ſaid Porter, to whom he complained of the unworthy treatment, he had received from the conſtables after he was their priſoner, but without redreſs. George then enquired by *what authority he had iſſued out his warrant to take him?* To which Porter would give no further ſatisfaction, than *that he had an order, but would not let him ſee it, for he would not reveal the King's ſecrets*, adding, *a priſoner was not to ſee for what he was committed*; a palpable inſtance of his want of qualification for his office: George Fox ſignified that was not

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reaſonable, for how ſhould he make his defence then? After ſome more diſcourſe his mittimus was made out, the jailer ſent for, and commanded to put him in the dark houſe; and though bail was offered for his appearance, it was refuſed, and he committed cloſe priſoner to Lancaſter caſtle, where he was treated with great incivility and rudeneſs, being often debarred of proviſions, but as he could get them under the door. He then deſired two of his friends to apply to the jailer for a copy of the mittimus, who told them, *He could not give a copy of it, for another had been fined for a ſimilar offence*; but he gave them liberty to read it over, and according to the beſt of their recollection, the charges advanced againſt him were, *that he was a perſon generally* ſuſpected *to be a common diſturber of the peace of the nation, an enemy to the King, and a chief upholder of the Quakers ſect: That he, together with others of his fanatick opinion, have of late endeavoured to raiſe inſurrections in theſe parts of the country, and to embroil the whole kingdom in blood. Wherefore the jailer was commanded to keep him in ſafe cuſtody till he ſhould be releaſed by order of the king and parliament.*

A copy of his mittimus applied for and refuſed, but his friends are permitted to view it.

Having thus got the ſubſtance of the charges contained in his mittimus, he thought himſelf called upon, in vindication of his innocency, to publiſh an immediate reply to every particular charge, clearly proving them to be downright falſehoods. That he was not generally ſuſpected to be a common diſturber of the nation's peace, having given no cauſe for ſuch ſuſpicion, his conduct having always been inoffenſive and remote from diſorder. That he was not an enemy

G. Fox anſwers it.

to

to the king, but loved him and all men, neither had he any reaſon to be his enemy, who had treated him with no rigour or offered him no injury, whereas he had been impriſoned and perſecuted for eleven or twelve years by thoſe men, who were in open hoſtility both againſt the king and his father, for whom Porter carried arms, and by whom he was advanced to the rank of a major, but had ſuffered no injurious treatment from the king's friends. And in reply to the charge, 'that he, together with 'others of his fanatick opinion, have of late 'endeavoured to raiſe inſurrections, and to 'embroil the whole kingdom in blood,' he ſays, this is altogether falſe, he being, as to theſe things, as innocent as a child, and clear of any concern therein. As for the term *fanatick*, Porter was not the man to apply it to him and his friends, but might have conſidered himſelf, and learned humility at this ſeaſon, in applying nearer home the fanatick opinions, which raiſe inſurrections and embroil the whole kingdom in blood.

Margaret Fell alſo, conſidering the forcible entry and ſearching of her houſe, and arreſting her gueſt there, as a violation of the liberty of the ſubject, and an injury offered to her, publiſhed the following brief narrative of his apprehenſion:

Margaret Fell publiſhes a narrative of his apprehenſion.

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To all Magiſtrates, concerning the wrong taking up and impriſoning of George Fox at Lancaſter.

" I do inform the governors of this nation, " that Henry Porter, mayor of Lancaſter, ſent " a warrant with four conſtables to my houſe, " for which he had no authority nor order. " They ſearched my houſe, and apprehended " George Fox in it, who was not guilty of the " breach of any law, or of any offence againſt " any in the nation. After they had taken him, " and brought him before the ſaid Henry Porter, " there was bail offered, what he would demand " for his appearance, to anſwer what could be " laid to his charge: but he (contrary to law, " if he had taken him lawfully) denied to ac- " cept of any bail, and clapt him up in cloſe " priſon. After he was in priſon, a copy of his " mittimus was demanded, which ought not to " be denied to any priſoner, that ſo he may ſee " what is laid to his charge: but it was denied " him, a copy he could not have, only they were " ſuffered to read it over. And every thing " there charged againſt him was utterly falſe; " he was not guilty of any one charge in it, as " will be proved, and manifeſted to the nation. " So let the governors conſider of it. I am " concerned in this thing, inaſmuch as he was " apprehended in my houſe, and if he be guilty " I am ſo too. So I deſire to have this ſearched " out.

MARGARET FELL."

Margaret

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Margaret Fell further determined to take a journey to London, to ſolicit the King's protection, and lay the circumſtances of George Fox's impriſonment before him; which when Porter underſtood he went alſo, with a view to fruſtrate her endeavours: but when he made his appearance at court, having been a zealous partiſan for the parliament, and being charged by ſome of the courtiers with plundering their houſes, he thought it ſafeſt to make a ſpeedy retreat, and return home. So Margaret Fell being joined by Anne Curtis (whoſe father had been ſheriff of Briſtol, and had ſuffered death for endeavouring to bring in the King) on whoſe account they were favourably received, laid the caſe of George Fox before the King, requeſting his favourable interpoſition, *to cauſe him to be removed to London, and hear his cauſe himſelf;* which requeſt he readily complied with, and gave command to his ſecretary to ſend down an order for his removal accordingly; upon their application to the ſecretary, he informed them that according to law he muſt be brought up by habeas corpus before the judges; and writ to the judge of the King's-bench, that it was the King's pleaſure, that George Fox ſhould be removed to London by habeas corpus, which was accordingly procured and ſent to the ſheriff of Lancaſhire. But as his perſecutors were ſenſible, that there were no grounds for the high inſinuations of danger contained in his mittimus, and that they could bring no ſhadow of proof againſt him, being conſcious, that their proceedings in his committal and detention could not bear the teſt, they ſought many evaſions, objecting firſt to the informality of the writ, next inſiſting on his bearing the charge of ſending him up under a guard; this unjuſt requiſition

Margaret Fell lays his caſe before the King.

A habeas corpus obtained to remove him to London,

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quiſition he perſiſted, in regard of his innocence, to refuſe compliance with: at laſt, after two months heſitation, they permitted him to go up in company with ſome of his friends without any guard, on his verbal promiſe to appear before the judges at Weſtminſter upon a certain day of the term, if the Lord permitted. A clear demonſtration that his impriſonment was the mere effect of malice, and wanton deſpotiſm in the republican mayor, and that his perſecutors themſelves did not really believe him to be the man, they endeavoured to repreſent him.

permitted to go thither without a guard.

George Fox, whoſe promiſe was acknowledged to be a ſufficient bond for his appearance, preſented himſelf in the court of King's-bench accordingly, being accompanied by two of his friends, Richard Hubberthorn and Robert Withers, together with eſquire Marſh of the King's bedchamber. The charge againſt him was read, the people were moderate, and the judges diſpaſſionate and favourable; no accuſer appearing to prove the charges againſt him, eſquire Marſh ſignified to the judges, that it was the King's pleaſure that George Fox ſhould be ſet at liberty; upon which the judges enquiring of him, whether he would be willing to refer the matter to the King and council, he readily conſented.—Wherefore the judges cauſed the ſheriffs return of the habeas corpus to be laid before the King, who upon conſideration of the whole matter, and the futility of unſupported crimination, gave directions to the ſecretary of ſtate to ſend an order to Sir Thomas Mallet, one of the juſtices of the King's-bench, for his releaſe, who in conſequence iſſued his warrant to the marſhal of that court to ſet him at liberty, after an unjuſt and ſevere impriſonment for more than 20 weeks.

Appears in the court of King's-bench.

Referred to the King and council.

Ordered to be ſet at liberty.

His

His liberty, thus honourably obtained, filled his antagoniſts with vexation and fear: Porter in particular was greatly terrified, under the apprehenſion that George would avail himſelf by law of the advantage, which the temerity and illegality of his injurious treatment had given, to the utter ruin of himſelf and family: and George Fox did not want incitement, even from ſome in authority, to make him and the reſt examples: but he, eſteeming it his duty as a chriſtian to forgive injuries, meekly replied, "*I ſhall leave "them to the Lord; if he forgive them, I ſhall trouble "myſelf no farther about them.*" CHAP. I. 1660.

It was juſt at this time that ſeveral of the late King's judges were brought to their trials, condemned and executed in an ignominious manner: when George Fox came to London, he paſſed a multitude of people gathered at Charing-croſs, to ſee the burning of the bowels of ſome of them, who had been hanged, drawn and quartered purſuant to their ſentence; and when he went next morning to ſurrender himſelf to Sir Thomas Mallet, he found him preparing to go to the court, to ſit upon the trial of others of them.

Amongſt the reſt that ſuffered on this occaſion, was Col. Francis Hacker, who ſix years before had George Fox taken priſoner, and ſent up in cuſtody to Oliver Cromwell, as hath been related in its courſe. In this reverſe of his fortune, he had cauſe to reflect upon George's parting expreſſions, "When the day of his miſery and "trial ſhould come upon him, then to remem-"ber what he had ſaid to him." Margaret Fell, viſiting him in priſon a day or two before his execution, reminded him of his maltreatment of the innocent in the day of his power: he acknowledged

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knowledged that he perceived whom ſhe meant, and felt trouble for it.

Hugh Peters alſo, a furious independent preacher, and chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, ſuffered with the Regicides, and with equal juſtice, as having by his inflammatory harangues incited the army to demand the death of the late King. When men aſſuming the character of miniſters of the goſpel depart ſo far from their proper province, as to excite tumult and bloodſhed in the ſtate, they forfeit all juſt pretenſions to the character they aſſume. The fomenters of ſedition, ill-will and party animoſity clearly manifeſt themſelves not to be meſſengers of the Prince of peace.

Rich. Hubberthorn hath a conference with the King.

About this time Richard Hubberthorn obtained acceſs to the King, and upon laying before him the exceſſive ſufferings of his friends under the late rulers, and that the like were even now continued in ſome part of the nation under his rule; the King was pleaſed to enter into a free converſation with him concerning the principles of this people, and was ſo well ſatisfied with his account thereof, that he expreſſed his diſpoſition to protect them, in the following terms; "Of "this you may be aſſured, that you ſhall none "of you ſuffer for your opinions or religion, "ſo long as you live peaceably, and you have "the word of a King for it; and I have alſo "given forth a declaration to the ſame purpoſe, "that none ſhall wrong you, or abuſe you." But this promiſe, ratified by *the word of a King*, was very unfaithfully kept.

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CHAP. II.

Inſurrection of the Fifth-monarchy Men.—Occaſion taken from thence to bring Diſſenters under ſuſpicion of diſloyalty.——Proclamation iſſued againſt Anabaptiſts, Quakers and Fifth-monarchy Men.—Great Sufferings, in conſequence thereof, attend the People called Quakers.—The Priſons in many Places crowded with them.—George Fox and Richard Hubberthorn publiſh a Declaration of their Abhorrence of Plots.—Margaret Fell ſolicits the King on behalf of her impriſoned Friends.—Proclamation for their diſcharge.—Afterwards perſecuted on obſolete Laws againſt Popiſh Recuſants.

THUS encouraged, they ſeemed to have a proſpect of better times than they had experienced ſince they were diſtinguiſhed as a ſeparate ſociety; their meetings were very large and quiet, multitudes flocked to them from curioſity or better motives, many were convinced, and their numbers greatly encreaſed; but this calm was of no long duration. For in the 11mo (called January) this year an inſurrection was made by the Fifth-monarchy men (of whom mention hath been made before) under the conduct of one Venner a wine-cooper, who having animated his followers to the deſperate attempt by a paſſionate harangue, that the time was now come to eſtabliſh the kingdom of Jeſus upon earth, before the new government ſhould be fixed and eſtabliſhed under the dominion of the reſtored monarch,

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Inſurrection of the Fifth monarchy men.

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monarch, iſſued forth from their meeting place, with fifty or ſixty followers completely armed, with a reſolution to ſubvert the preſent government, and to eſtabliſh their imaginary kingdom in the place thereof. At firſt every one fled before them; they went triumphantly from ſtreet to ſtreet, every where proclaiming King Jeſus. At length the magiſtrates having aſſembled the trained bands, made an attack upon them; after defending themſelves, and ſlaying ſeveral of the aſſailants, they made a regular retreat to Canewood near Hampſtead; from which being diſlodged the next morning by a detachment of the guards, they returned again to the city, and took poſſeſſion of an houſe, in which they defended themſelves againſt a body of troops till the major part were killed. The few ſurvivors being taken priſoners, were tried, condemned and executed [g]; Venner and one of his officers, before their meeting-houſe door in Coleman-ſtreet, and nine others in different parts of the city.

Occaſion taken from thence to bring the Diſſenters under ſuſpicion of diſloyalty.

This wild attempt of a very few deluded individuals furniſhed the courtiers and biſhops, now returned into power, the pretext they wanted, to gratify their thirſt of vengeance, and let their former oppreſſors, with other diſſenters, feel in their turn, the rigours of perſecution, and to evade the force of the probable charge of violating the King's declaration of indulgence to tender conſciences, but a few months old; this inſurrection was made a handle of, to throw a ſuſpicion of diſloyalty upon all ſectaries, ſo called; and this ſuſpicion was by every effort kept alive by the ruling powers and their abetters during moſt part of this reign; wherein juſtice, mercy, and

[g] Neale.

and truth were frequently violated, to promote the ſiniſter purpoſes of prejudiced or ill-deſigning men. The colour, therefore, under which they palliated their ſudden and open violation of the royal promiſe, was, as not proſecuting nonconformiſts for their religious ſcruples, but as perſons dangerous to the ſtate; but the cover was too flimſy not to be ſeen through, they only waited for the firmer eſtabliſhment of themſelves till they threw off the maſk. CHAP. II. 1660.

[h] During the time of the tumult, on the ſecond of the 11[mo] an order of council was iſſued againſt the meetings of ſectaries in great numbers, and at unuſual times: and on the 10th of the ſame month a proclamation was publiſhed, whereby the King forbade the Anabaptiſts, Quakers, and Fifth-monarchy men to aſſemble or meet together under pretence of worſhipping God, except in ſome parochial church or chapel, or in private houſes by perſons therein inhabiting. All meetings in any other places were declared to be unlawful and riotous. And all mayors, and other peace officers were commanded to ſearch for ſuch conventicles, and cauſe the perſons therein to be bound over to the next ſeſſions.

Proclamation iſſued againſt Anabaptiſts, Quakers and Fifth-monarchy men.

This proclamation appears to be drawn up with more art and fallacy than ſound judgment or equity: while it reaches all the different ſects of diſſenters, all who do not aſſemble for worſhip in ſome parochial church or chapel, as rioters, it diſtinguiſhes only thoſe looked upon as the moſt inſignificant, and leaſt formidable for their numbers or abilities. The Preſbyterians are paſſed over in ſilence, becauſe they could not, as yet, with any colour of decency, be pointed out ſpecifically as foes to that government which, through their

Reflection.

[h] Neale.

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their reſentment to the independents, and the cajolements of the royaliſts, they had but juſt before been conducive to eſtabliſhing: The independents alſo are unnoticed, probably for fear, till they were humbled into a greater degree of imbecility of awakening the exertion of that vigour, and thoſe abilities, the effects whereof were yet ſufficiently recent in the memory of the preſent adminiſtration, to produce a cautiouſneſs in rouſing them into action again. The Anabaptiſts and Quakers, as new or weaker ſects, are treated with leſs ceremony, and without any occaſion adminiſtered by them, are ranked in one claſs with theſe wild diſturbers of the publick peace, wherein Juſtice, the characteriſtic virtue of good government, was deſignedly violated by involving the innocent with the guilty in one confuſed maſs. We have too many inſtances in hiſtory to excite a perſuaſion that men in power eſteem the rules of morality, and regard to a good conſcience, obligatory only upon the inferior claſſes of mankind; but to be no tie upon them, when they ſtand in the way of gratifying the impulſe of their ambition, revenge, or political projects. Through the various revolutions marked in the courſe of this hiſtory, how few of the rulers appear to have borne the ſword uniformly, "for a terror to evil-doers, and the praiſe "of them that do well."

The people called Quakers, expoſed to great perſecution.

In conſequence of this proclamation *, the Quakers were again expoſed to a freſh and ſevere perſecution,

* "The moſt irreligious and profane ſort of people were animated, and took occaſion againſt our religious and peaceable meetings, eagerly to endeavour to ſuppreſs them, being encouraged by the new juſtices and magiſtrates then got into commiſſion. The moſt vile and profane, as *drunkards, ſwearers,*

perſecution, although by the dying teſtimony of the ſufferers at their execution, declared to have no part in, or knowledge of their plot; abuſed by the populace, dragged from their employments; their houſes ranſacked, and their meetings broken up by ſoldiers; ſick men dragged out of their beds to priſon, one of which †, Thomas Patchen, being in a fever, died there. CHAP. II. 1660.

George Fox was ſtill in London, and gives account that all was uproar and tumult: The city and ſuburbs up in arms; the populace and military exceeding rude and abuſive: Henry Fell, going quietly to a friend's houſe, was knocked down by the ſoldiers, and had been killed if the Duke of York's paſſing by had not prevented. George was taken priſoner, but ſoon after, by the interpoſition

ers, *curſers*, and moſt wicked of all ſorts, being lifted up, and exalted in their ſpirits upon the reſtoration of the King, and his acceſſion to the throne, then were triumphant and inſulting againſt all religious diſſenters, and eſpecially threatening the Quakers and their meetings with ruin, &c. And ſeeing what a great flood of wickedneſs and debauchery was broken forth, and religion and virtue deſpiſed, we then expected no other than ſevere and hard treatment from our perſecutors, whoſe hearts were ſet in them to endeavour our ruin, or to root us out of the land".—George Whitehead's Journal, part ii. p. 242.

† "Among many others Thomas Patchen, a man of a conſiderable eſtate, was taken when ſick, and hurried away twenty-five miles to priſon, where he was, with the reſt, put among the felons, who abuſed him ſorely, and would have ſtripped him of his clothes, to the endangering of his life, had he not conſented to let them have 3l. 5s. in money, which the jailer awarded them; notwithſtanding which they afterward took from him two coats worth 2l. 10s. The fatigue of his journey, and the cruel uſage he met with in the jail, ſo encreaſed his diſtemper, that he died there a few days after his confinement. The felons alſo rifled the other priſoners, taking from ſome their money, from others their clothes and neceſſaries."—Beſſe, v. i. p. 690.

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interpoſition of his friend eſquire Marſh, ſet at liberty.

Richard Brown, one of the numerous temporizers of this age, who under the former powers had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a fierce adverſary to the royaliſts, particularly at Abingdon, being mayor of the city this year, to compenſate for his former miſconduct, turned, with the temper of the times, a no leſs diſtinguiſhed perſecutor of diſſenters; diſcovering himſelf to be a forward, intemperate zealot in executing all the rigorous meaſures of this reign. He purſued the Quakers with peculiar acrimony and violence, and committed them to Newgate in ſuch numbers, that they had not room to ſit or lie down, nor ſcarce to ſtand one by another. There were at one time in that jail of the mayor's own committing three hundred and forty-ſix perſons, of whom about an hundred were crouded together in one room, and divers fell ſick, through the ſmell and cloſeneſs of the place; beſides theſe, were ſeveral others whom the officers and ſoldiers had carried, as above, without any legal or regular warrant for that purpoſe.

This perſecution was not confined to the city, but, with the proclamation, ſpread with ſimilar violence over all, or moſt parts of, the nation; from their meetings, from their habitations and employments; out of their beds in the dead of the night, they were, without conviction, without crimination, without any legal cauſe, violently haled to priſon, till in many places the priſons were crouded with them, almoſt to the danger of ſuffocation, by the number ſtowed together in cloſe, damp, or unwholeſome rooms. To recount the particular circumſtances of their hard and unmerited treatment on this account would

ſwell

ſwell the work too much; but thoſe who deſire a fuller information than the caſes preſented in the notes *, are referred to Beſſe's collection of the ſufferings of this people, where they may fully ſatisfy themſelves of the truth of this repreſentation.

Perſecution

* On the 31ſt of the 11th month (January) [a] Roger Milton was called out of his bed by officers with a warrant, and kept, together with John Dudge and William Wyatt, under a guard all night, and conducted next day to Twyford, whence for refuſing to take the oath of allegiance tendered by three juſtices, they were committed to priſon; where the cruel treatment they received ſtrongly marks the virulent temper of the perſecutors at this time. They were thruſt into a dungeon among felons to the number of twenty-two, a place ſo cloſe, that the jailer acknowledged he thought it would breed an infection among them: They would not be ſuffered to walk in the yard for air, nor their friends to viſit them, nor bring them food and other neceſſaries: Their ink, paper and working tools were taken from them; they were made the ſubject of the keeper's deriſion, who bringing ſome of his companions to ſee them, ſcoffingly ſaid, *There was not ſuch another bed in Berkſhire.* Berkſhire.

Few or no counties eſcaped this general perſecution; but in conſequence of the proclamation the Quakers (ſo called) were everywhere taken up in crouds, violently haled by ſoldiers or peace officers before the juſtices, who generally tendered them the oath of allegiance, [which they knew they had a religious ſcruple againſt taking] and upon their conſcientious refuſal, committed them to priſon by fifty or ſixty at a time. In Briſtol near one hundred and ninety were impriſoned: Soldiers kept guard at the ſeveral priſons night and day, with orders to admit nobody to them: Their ſervants were denied acceſs, what they brought was narrowly ſearched, and themſelves rudely treated: In Lancaſter were two hundred and ſeventy priſoners, in Weſtmoreland one hundred and ſixteen, in Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire the number committed to priſon was no leſs than two hundred and twenty-nine, for refuſing to ſwear, being taken, many of them, from their religious meetings; ſome on the high-ways, others from their houſes,

[a] Beſſe.

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Perſecution being thus carried on throughout the nation againſt a people who had adminiſtered no houſes and lawful employments, and ſome out of their beds. One hundred and twenty-ſix in the North-Riding, in like manner and for the ſame cauſe; moſtly for refuſing to take the oaths, and proportionably in other counties.

Whence it is apparent, that this inſurrection was made a handle to effect a preconcerted deſign, for their fidelity appears not to have been called in queſtion, but moſt or all to be committed for their ſcrupling to take an oath. And their treatment in priſon was generally as inhuman as their commitment was unjuſt, as appears by the following copy of a letter from Leiceſter jail, dated the 20th of the 12th month (February), 1660.

A copy of a letter from Leiceſter.

" A copy of a letter from Leiceſter jail, dated the 20th of " the twelfth month, 1660.

" *Friends*,

" It lieth upon us to give an account of our ſufferings, we " being in number twenty-five, which are impriſoned becauſe " we cannot ſwear, we expecting that more will be brought " to priſon. We be under the oppreſſion of a cruel jailer, " who refuſeth to let us have neceſſary proviſion brought to " us, and one who is a friend, which we have employed for " that purpoſe, when ſhe hath made proviſion ready for us, " and brought it to the door, the jailer hath ſeveral times " turned it back with cruel threatning words, ſaying, *He " would break her neck if he took her coming in at the door.* " And many of us, being very poor men in the outward, " ſcarce able to provide for our families when at liberty, and " ſome of us being fifteen or ſixteen miles from our outward " beings, and ſo unable to buy ourſelves proviſions at the " jailer's exceſſive rates. Some of us have been impriſoned " five weeks: One, his wife being near the time of her deli- " very of a child, his friends deſiring but a ſhort time for him " to go and ſpeak to his wife, his brother offering to ſtay in " his room the time, was denied: Another was brought to " priſon from his wife, ſhe being delivered of a child but two " days before. And ſome of our friends, being brought to " priſon, had their coats taken off their backs by the ſoldiers, " and not reſtored again; Another friend's wife being very " weak,

no juſt occaſion, who were not in any degree chargeable with the inſurrection or ſedition; but artfully

" weak, and not likely to continue long, ſhe deſiring much to " ſee her huſband, who deſired, upon ſecurity, ſo much liberty " of the jailer to go and ſee her, but he denied it; it lying " much upon the friend to go and ſee his wife in that condi- " tion, he acquainted one of the commiſſioners with it, " who ſent his warrant to the jailer to ſet the friend at liberty, " and that ſhould be his diſcharge; but the jailer kept the " warrant, and refuſed to let him go, except he would pay " him a mark fees. We are forced to hire rooms at exceſſive " rates, by reaſon that we cannot have a free priſon to hold us, " ſo as that we might lie down, there being ſo many debtors " and felons in it. Three of the friends impriſoned are *North-* " *amptonſhire* men: One, whoſe name is *William Vincent*, who " had been impriſoned at *Northampton* near fourteen months, " it being but two weeks after he was put out, but he was " brought to priſon here, he being a man in much bodily " weakneſs, with many running ſores upon him, and by " outward appearance is not likely to continue long; his wife " alſo being in the town, and bringing him ſome warm food, " which ſhe had provided for him, was turned back, and not " ſuffered to bring it to him. Likewiſe the jailer denies to let " him have a candle at his own charge, whereby he might " dreſs his ſores, it being a dark place, where he is lockt " up by day-light; likewiſe not ſuffering a few boards, which " were their own, to hold the ſtraw up, but did take them " from them.

" Subſcribed by

Edward Muggleſton
John Evatt
John Elliott
Richard Read
George Power
Thomas Orton
William Smith
Thomas Marſhall
Robert Pimm
Robert Bakewell
William Perkins
Peter Hinks
Samuel Ward
Robert Cliffe
John Swann
William Vincent
William Line
George Almon
Robert Day
Richard Farmer
Roger Sturgis
Thomas Falkner
William Gregory
William Horton
William Tomſon."

Many

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artfully brought under ſuſpicion to palliate the faithleſs meaſures and rigorous deſigns which were previouſly determined upon; the Quakers, as well as other diſſenters, thought it neceſſary to clear themſelves of theſe groundleſs ſurmiſes, by a publick diſavowal of all plots and inſurrections whatever, in order to prepare the way for application for redreſs of the various injuries they were unjuſtly expoſed to in their perſons, reputations and properties. George Fox and Richard Hubberthorn drew up a declaration of their abhorrence of plots and warring, in order to preſent it to the King and Council, but when finiſhed and ſent to the preſs, it was there ſeized, which

Many people were now likewiſe in Ilcheſter jail; the cauſe and manner of whoſe commitment is expreſſed in the following letter, written by one of them, viz.

A letter from one of the priſoners at Ilcheſter.

" *Dear Friend,*

" By reaſon of ſome raſh, unadviſed enterprize of the Mo-
" narchy-men in London, which we hear of late hath hap-
" pened, which we are altogether unacquainted with, and
" clear in our conſciences and practices toward God and
" men, from the leaſt knowledge of, or hand in, yet we are
" made as equally guilty with tranſgreſſors, amongſt whom
" we are numbered and confined in priſon, where we pati-
" ently wait until the Lord clear our innocency, and plead
" our cauſe. We are in number already one hundred and
" forty, and expect more to be daily added, and the cry of
" the innocent babes, who are left as it were fatherleſs, and
" of the mournful women, that are deprived of the help of their
" huſbands, by ſuch a ſudden ſurpriſal, cannot but reach into
" the moſt ſecret corner of the King's palace, and pierce the
" hardeſt heart that hath any affection to nature: The Lord
" plead our cauſe, and clear our innocency, and reward them
" according to their works, that have brought this diſtreſs
" upon the nation. I hope the King knows, or will know,
" that the perſecuted people called Quakers, had no hand in
" the treſpaſs which occaſioned ſuch a proclamation, whereby
" our

which looks like an arbitrary depriving them of the opportunity of vindicating themſelves. Upon which they quickly drew up another, got it printed, ſent ſome copies to the King and Council, and publiſhed the reſt in their juſtification to the nation at large.

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Abſtract of a declaration from the people called Quakers, againſt all ſedition, plotters, fighters, &c. preſented to the king the 21ſt of 11th month, 1660.

"Our principle is, and our practice hath always been, to ſeek peace and to follow after righteouſneſs, and the knowledge of God; ſeeking the good and welfare, and doing that which tends to the peace of all. We

"know our meetings are all broken up, and in many places both men and women much abuſed, beaten, blooded, dragged out of their houſes, and ſome out of their beds, and others from their ordinary employments, and haled before magiſtrates, and ſo ſent to priſon, for not going to pariſh churches, as they are called; and the oath tendered to them, and for refuſing to ſwear, committed; and on this account there are ſent to the jail, ſome days thirty, ſome more, and ſome leſs, and daily we are in expectation to have friends brought ſo long as there can be one found to go under the denomination of a Quaker, unleſs there be a ſtop put to that ſpirit, that takes this opportunity to ſtrike at every appearance of truth. The very worſt of men in the priſon, that ſuffer for felony and murder, rejoicing to ſee us ſo perſecuted, and ſuppoſing themſelves in better condition than men of tender conſciences; and the rude, wild and ranting people in the country, take occaſion to rejoice that they have now the countenance and authority to apprehend, perſecute and impriſon the Quakers, and ſome not ſatisfied that we are confined in priſon, for blood is thirſted after, without which ſome may hardly eſcape out of this place, except the Lord reſtrain the wrath of man.——

"*Ilcheſter, the 22d of the eleventh month*, 1660."

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" know that wars and fightings proceed from " the luſts of men, *Jam.* iv. 1, 2, 3. out of " which luſts the Lord hath redeemed us, and " therefore the ground and cauſe being taken " away the effect ceaſeth. And all bloody prin- " ciples and practices we (as to our own par- " ticular) do utterly deny; with all outward " wars and ſtrife, and fightings with outward " weapons, for any end, or under any pretence " whatſoever: And this is our teſtimony to the " whole world.

" And whereas it is objected:

" Although you now ſay, *That you cannot fight,* " *nor take up arms at all; yet if the ſpirit do move* " *you, then you will change your principle, and* " *then you will ſell your coat and buy a ſword,* " *and fight for the kingdom of Chriſt.*

" *Anſw.* We ſay Chriſt's command to Peter, " *Put up thy ſword, for he that taketh the ſword* " *ſhall periſh by the ſword,* was poſterior to that, " when for the fulfilling of the law, he ſaid, *He that* " *had no ſword might ſell his coat and buy one.* " And further, the Spirit of Chriſt, by which we " are guided, is not changeable, ſo as once to " command us from a thing as evil, and again " to move unto it; and we do certainly know, " and ſo teſtify to the world, that the Spirit of " Chriſt, which leads us into all truth, will ne- " ver move us to fight and war againſt any man " with outward weapons, neither for the king- " dom of Chriſt, nor for the kingdoms of this " world.

" Firſt, Becauſe the kingdom of Chriſt, God " will exalt, according to his promiſe, and cauſe " it to grow and flouriſh in righteouſneſs; *Not* " *by might nor by power* (of outward ſword) *but* " *by my ſpirit, ſaith the Lord,* Zech. iv. 6. So

" thoſe

" thoſe that uſe any weapon to fight for Chriſt, CHAP. II.
" or for the eſtabliſhing of his kingdom or go-
" vernment, both the ſpirit, principle and prac- 1660.
" tice in that, we deny.

" Secondly, We do earneſtly deſire and wait,
" that (by the word of God's power, and its
" effectual operation in the hearts of men) the
" kingdoms of this world may become the king-
" doms of the Lord, and of his Chriſt, that he
" might rule and reign in men by his Spirit and
" Truth; that thereby all people out of all dif-
" ferent judgments and profeſſions, might be
" brought into love and unity with God, and
" one with another; and that they might all
" come to witneſs the prophet's words, who ſaid,
" *Nation ſhall not lift up ſword againſt nation,*
" *neither ſhall they learn war any more.* Iſa. ii.
" 4. Micah iv. 3.

" And whereas all manner of evil hath
" been falſly ſpoken of us, we hereby ſpeak
" forth the plain truth of our hearts, to take
" away the occaſion of that offence; that ſo
" we being innocent, may not ſuffer for other
" men's offences, nor be made a prey upon by
" the wills of men for that of which we were
" never guilty; but in the uprightneſs of our
" hearts we may, under the power ordained of
" God for the puniſhment of evil-doers, and for
" the praiſe of them that do well, live a peaceable
" and godly life, in all godlineſs and honeſty.
" For although we have always ſuffered, and do
" now more abundantly ſuffer, yet we know
" that it is for righteouſneſs ſake: *For our re-*
" *joicing is this, the teſtimony of our conſciences,*
" *that in ſimplicity and godly ſincerity, not with*
" *fleſhly wiſdom, but by the grace of God, we have*
" *had our converſation in the world.* 2 Cor. i.
" 12.

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" 12. which for us is a witneſs, for the con-
" vincing of our enemies. For this we can ſay
" to all the world, we have wronged no man's
" perſon or poſſeſſions; we have uſed no force
" nor violence againſt any man; we have been
" found in no plots, nor guilty of ſedition; when
" we have been wronged, we have not ſought
" to revenge ourſelves; we have not made re-
" ſiſtance againſt authority; but wherein we
" could not obey for conſcience-ſake, we have
" ſuffered even the moſt of any people in the
" nation.

" Our weapons are ſpiritual, and not carnal, yet
" *Mighty through God, to the pulling down of the*
" *ſtrong holds of ſin and Satan*, who is author of
" wars, fighting, murder, and plots; and our
" ſwords are broken into plow-ſhares, and ſpears
" into pruning-hooks, as propheſied of in *Micah*
" iv. Therefore we cannot learn war any more,
" neither riſe up againſt nation or kingdom with
" outward weapons, though you have numbered
" us amongſt the tranſgreſſors and plotters: the
" Lord knows our innocency herein, and will
" plead our cauſe with all men and people upon
" earth, at the day of their judgment, when all
" men ſhall have a reward according to their
" works.

" This is given forth from the people called
" Quakers, to ſatisfy the King and his coun-
" cil, and all thoſe that have any jealouſy
" concerning us; that all occaſion of ſuſ-
" picion may be taken away, and our inno-
" cency cleared."

Every meaſure ſeems to have been purſued to fill the nation with alarm, and conſequently the ill-

ill-judging multitude with rage againſt diſſenters, the objects pointed out as dangerous to the ſtate; the preſs was narrowly watched *; orders were given to ſtop and ſearch all letters in the poſt-office; ſoldiers let looſe to drag to priſon whom they pleaſed, ſo that it was dangerous for them to walk the ſtreets; they were inſulted and abuſed by the mobs; diſturbed in their religious exerciſes; taken from their trades and families, and thereby expoſed to great hardſhips, loſs and damage, and their families, many of them, to want.

From the impulſe of affection and ſympathy, at that time ſo remarkable amongſt this people, in addition to the endeavours uſed for their relief by the aforeſaid declaration, Margaret Fell ſeveral times waited perſonally upon the King to ſolicit his indulgence and protection for them: at her firſt admiſſion ſhe ſignified to him, "they were an innocent, peaceable people, who "did no injury, and adminiſtered no occaſion "of

Margt. Fell ſolicits the King on behalf of the number of friends impriſoned.

* Of this we have a remarkable inſtance in Thomas Ellwood's narrative of his own life. Meeting with Thomas Loe at I. Penington's, he propoſed to him to appoint a meeting in the town where he dwelt. To this propoſal Thomas Loe ſignified, "He was not at his own diſpoſal, but "deſired Thomas Ellwood, if the thing lay with weight on "his mind, and he could get a convenient place for a meet-"ing, to adviſe him thereof by letter to Oxford, and then "he might let him know how his freedom ſtood." Thomas Ellwood accordingly having procured a ſuitable place, writ account thereof to Thomas Loe, his letter was intercepted, and brought to Lord Falkland, Lord Lieutenant of the county, who ordered the two deputy lieutenants neareſt him to ſend a a party of ſoldiers to fetch him in and examine him thereupon. Upon examination, their endeavours to wreſt his letter to a criminal deſign, affording no ſufficient ground of puniſhment, they tendered him the oath of allegiance, and on his refuſal committed him priſoner to Oxford.

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" of offence, except in keeping up their religi-
" ous meetings, for no other purpoſe but wor-
" ſhipping God, in that way, they were perſuad-
" ed was moſt acceptable to him, and edifying
" one another in his fear; which being to them
" a conſcientious matter of duty to God, they
" could not violate it, in compliance with the ordi-
" nances or laws of man, whatever they ſuffered."
She waited upon him again, to inform him how ſeverely her friends, who were not in the leaſt concerned in inſurrection or riot, were treated; ſeveral thouſands of them through the nation being caſt into priſon illegally, in conſequence of other men's crimes. The King and council wondered how they gained the intelligence, after the ſtrict orders they had iſſued to intercept all letters, ſo that none might paſs unſearched. However, in conſequence of her application, and the declaration above-mentioned, the King ſent out a proclamation, *forbidding ſoldiers to ſearch any houſe without a conſtable.* Afterward, when ſome of the unhappy inſurgents were brought to ſuffer, they were ſo juſt to this injured people, as by their dying teſtimony to clear them of all guilt, publickly declaring " they
" had no hand in, or knowledge of their plot."
Proclamation iſſued for their diſcharge.
This with other evidences, and their continued interceſſions, prevailed upon the King to iſſue out a declaration, ordering *the Quakers to be ſet at liberty without paying fees.*

But yet that ſpirit of riot and furious hatred, which had been, it is feared, deſignedly ſtirred up in the populace towards this people, continued to be very vexatious to them, eſpecially in their religious aſſemblies; for beſides the interruption they ſuffered from the officers and ſoldiers, they were expoſed to the abuſe and diſ-

turbance

turbance of many rude people, who made it their buſineſs to come to their meetings on purpoſe to moleſt and inſult them; and although for the preſent, the fierce current of perſecution was in ſome meaſure ſtopped by the King's proclamation, and the priſoners confined in conſequence of the inſurrection of the Millenarians ſet at liberty; although cruelty was not reckoned amongſt the King's vices, yet being ſurrounded by counſellors, churchmen and courtiers, averſe to toleration, he too eaſily gave into their views; and in violation of his ſolemn promiſe in his declaration from Breda, ſuffered great numbers of his ſubjects to be continually harraſſed with ſpoil of their property, even to reducing them from opulent or eaſy circumſtances to indigence, and the repeated deprivation of their perſonal liberty, and all the comforts of life.

Afterwards perſecuted on obſolete laws againſt popiſh recuſants.

After the Quakers were fully cleared of the plot of the Fifth-monarchy men, and all pretences of puniſhing them on that account were removed, it was not long till they were again grievouſly perſecuted by the revival of old laws made in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, chiefly againſt popiſh recuſants, but now perverted to the puniſhment of this inoffenſive body of people, who had not in any thing diſturbed the peace of the kingdom, while the Papiſts themſelves were not only ſuffered to remain unmoleſted, but through covert favour of the court, are generally reported to have promoted, by all their intereſt, which was not inconſiderable, the ſevere meaſures purſued againſt other diſſenters in this reign. The principal laws which

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which were thus revived, and diſtorted to the unreaſonable and unjuſt puniſhment of this ſociety at this period, and during this reign, rigorous in themſelves, and made more ſo by the extreme ſeverity exerciſed in the execution of them, were theſe which follow.

Firſt, The act paſſed in the thirty-ſecond year of Henry VIII. againſt the ſubtraction of tithes [as of divine right due to God and holy church] whereby juſtices of peace were obliged to commit the contumacious defendant to priſon, till he ſhould find ſufficient ſurety to give due obedience to the proceſs, decrees or ſentence of the eccleſiaſtical court.

Although this act be a general one, pointed at no particular ſociety, and through the attachment of the clerical order to their ſecular intereſts and power, through all revolutions of government prevented from growing obſolete: yet how grievouſly great numbers of this ſociety have ſuffered thereby, hath been ſhewn in numerous inſtances, and may in more hereafter.

For believing this law, in its ground and tendency to be in direct contradiction to a ſuperior law, the command of Chriſt Jeſus himſelf, "Freely ye have "received, freely give;" that the practice of the Apoſtles and the primitive church for three ſucceſſive centuries was a proof that tithes were no goſpel maintenance, but aboliſhed with the Jewiſh law to which they belonged; that in the dark ages of prieſtly dominion, laick ſuperſtition and implicit faith, they were gradually introduced, and eſtabliſhed in the manner they are now applied, by the avarice, fraud and influence of ſelfiſh and popiſh eccleſiaſticks; on theſe conſiderations, as chriſtians, as proteſtants and reformers, they believed themſelves under an obligation of conſcience neither to pay them, nor actively comply with the law; but to bear open teſtimony againſt the impoſition

poſition as antichriſtian; but the prieſts having by this law the power to impriſon them, and detain them in priſon 'till the pretended debt, and exorbitant coſt of the eccleſiaſtical courts were fully paid and ſatisfied; and they being reſtrained from paying ſuch demands in violation of their conſciences and peace of mind, points more tender with them than the ſecurity of their property, liberty or natural lives; many of them were impriſoned ſeveral years, and many laid down their lives in priſon, in ſupport of this their chriſtian teſtimony.

Second, The laws made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth for uniformity of common prayer and publick worſhip, viz.

Firſt, that enacting a forfeiture of one ſhilling to the uſe of the poor, to be levied off every perſon who did not reſort to their pariſh church, or ſome other, every Sunday or Holyday.

The ſecond eſtabliſhing a forfeiture of twenty pounds a month for the like default *.

A Third

* Neale remarks that upon the conventicle act being paſſed in 1664, "At every quarter ſeſſions ſeveral were fined for not "coming to church; ſome excommunicated, and ſome fined "in a ſum much larger than all they were worth in the world." Of this we have a remarkable inſtance in the caſe of John Shipman and Thomas Virtue, both of the county of Suffolk, (who were proſecuted on this act of Elizabeth) as preſented to the King and council on the 5th of November 1663.

For the King and Council.

A ſhort relation of the cruel uſage of two of the King's peaceable ſubjects, JOHN SHIPMAN, of *Cretingham* in the county of *Suffolk*, and THOMAS VIRTUE of *Clopton* in the ſame county, &c.

The ſaid perſons being informed againſt by the ſheriff's bailiffs, and by the bailiffs of the liberty where the ſaid perſons

* Hiſtory of the Puritans.

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A Third enabling the Queen to ſeize all the goods, and two-thirds of the lands of every ſuch offender, for the ſum then due for 20l. a month; and yearly after that to do the ſame, for ſo long time as they ſhall forbear to come to church.

By the firſt of theſe acts ſome few were proſecuted by magiſtrates of moderation and lenity to obviate greater ſeverities, and by others to expedite ſeverer puniſhment; but many more upon the latter; and though the King, at the interceſſion of George Whitehead, Gilbert Latey and others, ordered ſtay of proceſs in divers counties; yet afterwards the proſecutions were continued until after his death, both to impriſonment and ſeizing of goods.

Fourth,

ſons dwelt, upon a ſtatute made againſt popiſh recuſants; and for their not being at the publick worſhip for eleven months paſt, at a quarter ſeſſions holden at Woodbridge in the ſaid county, *John Sicklemore* judge, judgment was paſſed againſt them by the juſtices there, for each of them to pay 20l. a month for eleven months, eleven ſcore pounds a piece; and ſince, the bailiffs aforeſaid have taken away goods worth 68l. 15s. from *John Shipman*, and 35l. worth from *Thomas Virtue*, and do threaten to take more from them, until they be ſatisfied for the fines of twice eleven ſcore pounds, although the whole eſtate of the ſaid Thomas Virtue is not judged to be worth half ſo much, ſo that if the King ſhew not ſome kindneſs to theſe poor men, the ſaid Thomas Virtue, his wife and ſix children, are like to be left deſtitute: and farther, the ſaid perſons were for the ſame cauſe both kept in priſon; the one of them a year and a half, the other a year and ½ quarter before their goods and cattle were taken away.

Therefore our requeſt to the King is, that he would relieve the ſaid ſufferers; and that they may not thus deeply ſuffer for conſcience ſake, who wiſh well to King and government.

Beſſe's ſufferings, vol, i. p. 673.

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Fourth, And as if theſe laws were not ſevere enough, in the 35th year of the ſaid reign, an act was made to oblige offenders in the like caſe to abjure the realm on pain of death.

This law, made it may be ſuppoſed, chiefly againſt papiſts, was endeavoured in ſome inſtances to be enforced againſt the Quakers; but as it was well known they could not ſwear at all, and therefore that they would not abjure the realm; and of conſequence proſecutions by this law muſt terminate in their death, which might occaſion an alarm in the nation, and a deteſtation of ſuch ſeverity, proſecutions under this law were diſcouraged, even by judges otherwiſe ſevere enough againſt the Quakers: yet we ſhall find, on more occaſions than the one following, endeavours were uſed by ſome inveterate ſpirits to bring them under the laſh of this law.

William Alexander of Needham in Suffolk, being with ſeveral others indicted upon this act, was called upon to plead, guilty or not guilty; but not being haſty to anſwer, the judge ſaid, why don't you plead? Alexander ſaid, what wouldſt thou adviſe us to plead? If you aſk my advice, ſaid the judge, you ſhall have it, and I'll adviſe you to plead not guilty. The priſoners pleading accordingly, the judge turning to the proſecutors, informed them, that now they muſt prove theſe men, neither to have been at their own pariſh church, nor any other church or chapel, elſe they were not within this act, which is a ſanguinary law. Alexander and the reſt were accordingly diſcharged.

Fifth, The act made in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign for adminiſtring the oath of ſupremacy, and that of the third of James (after the diſcovery of the gun-powder plot) enjoining the taking the oath of allegiance, afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Teſt*.

Now

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Now albeit this laſt was enacted particularly as a ſecurity againſt the dangerous machinations of the papiſts, yet in this reign theſe met with ſhelter and protection, and the edge of this law was turned againſt the Quakers very deceitfully and unjuſtly; for as it was now generally known, that they had a conſcientious ſcruple againſt taking any oath, apprehending the precept of Chriſt, *ſwear not at all*, a poſitive obligatory command, which they ought not in any caſe to tranſgreſs, and that no law or power upon earth could juſtify them in the breach of a divine law: although they were willing to acknowledge their allegiance by any plain declaration, ſhort of an oath; yet on account of this conſcientious ſcruple, a preconcerted and unreaſonable advantage was taken of this act. But through divine ſupport in all their afflictions, they were actuated by an invincible conſtancy, and preſerved ſteadfaſt in their obedience and their faith, through bonds, premunires, baniſhments, and even death itſelf.

In the late general impriſonment in purſuance of the proclamation publiſhed on the riſing of the fifth monarchy men, when the innocence of this ſociety appeared ſo clearly, that there remained no ſhadow of reaſon to detain them on that account, it was the uſual method with the magiſtrates to tender them the oath of allegiance, which they knew they would not take, that by their refuſal they might get a more plauſible pretext to commit and detain them in priſon. On this account many hundreds were impriſoned, from the time of the inſurrection till they were liberated by the king's declaration aforementioned; but it was not on this occaſion only, they ſuffered by this act, but it continued, when other means failed

to

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to ſupply the malevolence of their adverſaries a handle to enſnare and be vexatious to them, through the greateſt part of this reign, as may more fully appear in the proceſs of this work: But to recite all the hardſhips and ſufferings they were expoſed to on this ſingle ſcruple were to write a large volume, and therefore I can only curſorily take notice of the moſt remarkable caſes as they ariſe: for the preſent, as it may be apprehended, that in troubleſome times it is but reaſonable for the government to require this ſecurity from the ſubject, the following caſe will ſhew that they were not backward to demonſtrate their allegiance, as far as they could go, without diſobeying the command of Chriſt, as they underſtood it, which joined to their peaceable and unreſiſting demeanour, chargeable with no diſaffection, might ſafely have been accepted, were the rulers of that time as indulgent to tenderneſs of conſcience, as they were bent upon ſingling out the members of this ſociety to tender the oath to, for the pure purpoſe of involving them in diſtreſs by ſubjecting them to the penalties enacted by this law. 1660.

At the aſſizes of Bedford on the 13th of the month called March, 1660-1, * two and fifty perſons, then in priſon for refuſing the oath of allegiance, were brought before judge Windham, who ordered the ſtatutes of 35 Elizabeth and 7 James, to be read; telling the priſoners, that *many of them being but young, might probably be ignorant of the penalties they were liable to for refuſing the oath.* One of them, in the name of the reſt, anſwered, *That the penalties had been fully conſidered by them: That they thought it* 1661.

their

* Beſſe, vol. i. p. 4, 5.

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their duty actively to obey the laws of the land, when conſiſtent with the law of God, and when otherwiſe patiently to ſubmit. That the laws read appeared to them contrary to the precept of Chriſt, Matth. v. *which they durſt not break.* They preſented at the ſame time to the *Judge*, a paper in writing as follows, viz.

"Though it be generally known through "*Chriſtendom* ſo called, that the people called "*Quakers* cannot ſwear at all, becauſe it is ac- "cording to the command of Chriſt, our law- "giver, Judge and Saviour, yet for taking "away all jealouſies and fears out of the mind "of the king, his council, and other his offi- "cers and ſubjects in this realm, and other do- "minions belonging thereunto, that ſo under "him we may live in a godly, holy, honeſt, "peaceable and quiet life, to ſerve God and "the creation in our generation, we give forth "theſe lines, concerning the oath of allegiance "(obligatory to us) to the king, and all the "nation, whom it may concern, that we may "not be made tranſgreſſors, without a cauſe, "and expoſed to ſuffer for keeping our con- "ſciences clear before the Lord.

"Firſt of all we do believe and declare, that "the immediate hand of the Lord hath brought "in *Charles Stuart*, now proclaimed king of "*England*, *Scotland*, *&c.* according to the laws "and ſtatutes of the nation; and that the "Pope, neither of himſelf, nor by any autho- "rity of the church or ſee of *Rome*, or by any "other means with others, hath any power to "depoſe the king, or to diſpoſſeſs him of any "of his dominions, or to authorize any fo- "reign prince to invade or annoy him, neither "to diſcharge any of his ſubjects from their

"obedience

" obedience to him, or to give licenſe or leave CHAP. II.
" to any to take up arms, or to offer any vio-
" lence or hurt to the perſon of the king, ſtate 1661.
" or government, or to any of his ſubjects
" within his dominions: And likewiſe we de-
" clare, and ſhall keep our words, notwithſtand-
" ing any declaration or ſentence of excommu-
" nication or deprivation, made or granted, or
" to be made or granted by the pope or his
" ſucceſſors, or by any authority derived, or
" pretended to be derived from him, againſt
" the king, his lawful heirs and ſucceſſors, or
" by any abſolution of the ſaid ſubjects to the
" king: That we will not conſpire, neither at-
" tempt any conſpiracy againſt his perſon, nor
" plot nor contrive any thing againſt him,
" nor any of his ſubjects, neither would we have
" any others to do it, notwithſtanding any ſen-
" tence or declaration from the Pope; and far-
" ther we do abhor and deteſt that poſition, as
" impious and heretical, and a damnable doc-
" trine, that princes which be excommunicated
" by the Pope, may be depoſed or murthered
" by their ſubjects, or otherwiſe. And further
" we do believe in our hearts, that neither the
" Pope nor any other whatſoever, have power to
" abſolve us of this our acknowledgement and
" teſtimony, or any part thereof, and do re-
" nounce all pardons and diſpenſations to the
" contrary. And theſe things we do plainly
" and ſincerely acknowledge and confeſs, ac-
" cording to the plain common ſenſe and under-
" ſtanding of the words herein expreſſed, with-
" out any equivocation, mental reſervation, or
" ſecret evaſion whatſoever, and theſe things
" ſhall atteſt by words, and ſhall, if thereunto
" lawfully required, ſet our hands.

CHAP. II. 1661.

"So let us not be made a prey upon, seeing what we do is in a good conscience to God, and in it these things we write, and shall keep in truth and righteousness, which may satisfy you and all reasonable men."

On the next day the oath was tendered to six of the prisoners, who insisted on the illegality of their commitment, having been taken by violence out of their beds, though innocent of the breach of any law. The judge answered, *if they had suffered any wrong, they might take their remedy at law, but being now before him, he required them to take the oath*, adding, that *an oath was a part of God's worship, and that the scriptures had always been interpreted that men might swear.*

The prisoners speaking in their own defence were interrupted and hurried away. The grand jury found the bills of indictment, and returning into the court one of them was read to the prisoners, who were told, *the rest were like it:* And they not forward to plead, were sent back to prison.

1661. Parliament dissolved.

*The convention parliament, after having fixed the king on the throne, and been pretty liberal in their grants, were dissolved, probably because the number of Presbyterians therein were expected to be a bar in the way of executing the projected measures: And writs were issued for a new parliament to meet on the 8th of the month called May: The tide of popular favour, by the artful rumour of fictitious plots and conspiracies, carried on by the non-conformists, had

* Neale. Hume.

* had been turned againſt them, and ran violently on the ſide of the hierarchy and prerogative; this temper in the people, under the influence of the court, prevailed in carrying the elections in favour of a great majority of the royaliſts and zealous churchmen, the number of Preſbyterians returned, being too inconſiderable to oppoſe or retard their meaſures, monarchy and epiſcopacy were reſtored to their former ſplendour and power, which church (ſo called) and ſtate jointly exerciſed with that avengement, and want of moderation and juſtice, which are generally the concomitants of a violent party ſpirit.

New Parliament inimical to don-conformiſts.

[d] At the opening of this parliament, the king, in his ſpeech, declared, "That he valued himſelf upon keeping his word, and upon making good whatſoever he had promiſed to his ſubjects." At the ſame time that the Chancellor [Clarendon] by his ſucceeding comment, in a virulent ſpeech againſt ſeditious (which meant no more than diſſenting) preachers, was paving the way, by inflaming the parliament, to an open violation of his ſolemn promiſe of liberty to tender conſciences. Oliver Cromwell hath been grievouſly cenſured by the reigning party of this time, on account of his double dealing; but I recollect no inſtance of his management, of a more bare-faced duplicity than this, with this difference, that much of his artifice was exerted in ſelf-defence, againſt thoſe, he knew were plotting againſt him, to wreſt

* The denomination of Puritans was now changed into that of non-conformiſts, as a term that would comprehend every claſs of diſſenters from the eſtabliſhed religion.

[d] Neale.

CHAP. 1661. his power out of his hands; whereas in the projects carrying on at this time, the plaineſt rules of morality were broken through without any neceſſity, by the preſent rulers, for the mere purpoſe of exerting power over antagoniſts, who had, as themſelves now thought, with imprudent precipitation, been principally inſtrumental to put the power into their hands, to gratify a vindictive ſpirit, and diſplay a wanton triumph in their fall, by comprehending them and other diſſenters, even thoſe, who having been always of inoffenſive and pacifick principles and demeanour, whom they feared not, and knew they had no reaſon to fear, under one common deſcription of non-conformiſts, and then pointing out theſe non-conformiſts as objects of ſuſpicion, deteſtation and abuſe. [e] It is alledged the king did not voluntarily concur with theſe violent meaſures; but that the zeal of Clarendon and the church party among the commons, ſeconded by the intrigues of the catholicks * extorted his conſent. But by whomſoever theſe arbitrary meaſures were originally concerted, Clarendon, or the biſhops; papiſts, or proteſtants; the breach of faith, in the manifeſt violation of the royal promiſe, was too flagrant for palliatives to excuſe or vindicate; ſo that even the writers on the ſide of the prerogative and epiſcopacy

[e] Hume.

* The Catholicks, though they had little intereſt in the nation, were a conſiderable party at court. Theſe religioniſts dreaded an entire union among the proteſtants. Were they the ſole non-conformiſts in the nation, the ſevere execution of the penal laws upon their ſect, ſeemed an infallible conſequence; and they uſed all their influence againſt the Preſbyterians. The Earl of Briſtol who had changed his religion in his exile, was regarded as the head of this party. Hume.

epiſcopacy are obliged to acknowledge them to be an evaſion, and breach of the king's declaration from Breda.

Rumours of plots to make way for perſecuting laws.

In order to promote their deſigns, to animate the people and parliament againſt theſe devoted non-conformiſts, the miniſtry filled the city with rumours of plots and conſpiracies againſt the king and government, contriving by them. Clarendon in a conference between the two houſes, poſitively aſſerted that a conſpiracy had been formed to interrupt the peace of the nation, and though it had been diſconcerted in the city, it was ſtill carrying on in the counties. Writers generally agree that there was little or no foundation for theſe reports; but that they were the mere invention of the reporters, to facilitate the paſſing of the ſevere laws that were coming upon the carpet.

Corporation act, and act for uniformity.

After this prelude, the parliament proceeded to paſs that called the corporation-act, whereby all non-conformiſts were excluded from offices of truſt and magiſtracies; and ſome time after the act of uniformity, which deprived all the Preſbyterian and other non-conforming miniſters of their benefices, and re-inſtated the epiſcopalians in the full poſſeſſion of the power, and the emoluments of the prieſthood. Theſe acts did not in themſelves materially affect the Quakers, who aſpired to no places of honour or profit, who teſtified againſt preaching for hire, and ſought for no more than a toleration and protection in their religious and civil rights, to lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godlineſs and honeſty; yet the corporation act in its conſequences did affect them, by filling the city and country with perſecuting magiſtrates.

And

CHAP. II.

1661. Act againſt the people called Quakers, for not taking oaths, &c.

And it was not long until they were ſingled out, as victims to freſh penal laws in addition to the old ones revived againſt them. This parliament being moſt of them inclined to perſecution, and devotedly reſigned to the meaſures and influence of the miniſtry and epiſcopacy, who ſeemed determined to leave no claſs of non-conformiſts unmoleſted, brought in a bill directly levelled at this body, enacting new penalties for refuſing to take oaths, and alſo to ſuppreſs their religious meetings.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Continuation of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers in America.—Sufferings of William Leddra.—He is brought to his trial.—Appeals to England.—His Appeal over-ruled.—Condemned to death.—The Manner of his Execution.—A Letter relating to his Death.—Edward Wharton's Examination.—Sentence of Baniſhment.—His Addreſs to the People.—Trial of Wenlock Chriſtiſon.—The Court divided, yet the Governor paſſes ſentence of death upon him.—An Order for releaſing the Quakers out of Priſon.—Edward Burrough ſolicits the King to put a ſtop to the Perſecution in New-England.—The King in compliance with his Solicitation orders a Mandamus to ſtop it, and deputes Samuel Shattock to carry it over.—The Mandamus delivered, and Perſecution in part ſtopped.—Second Order for the diſcharge of Priſoners.

CHAP. III.

1661. Account received in England of the execution of the Quakers, ſo called, in New-England.

AS it was about this time that the people called Quakers in England received intelligence of the ſeverities againſt their friends in New-England, having been carried ſo far, that the government had not only made a law to baniſh them on pain of death; but had actually put ſome of them to death upon that ſanguinary and unauthorized law, as before related; Edward Burrough waited upon the king, to ſolicit the interpoſition of his authority to put a ſtop

CHAP. III. 1661.

ſtop to the further effuſion of innocent blood, and was ſucceſsful in his application. This ſeems therefore a proper place to reſume our narrative of the further ſufferings under the independent government there, which was even ſurpaſſing in virulence and cruelty, all the tyrannical proceedings on this ſide, towards this perſecuted people; while their brethren here were in ſome meaſure their companions in affliction.

Sufferings of William Leddra.

William Leddra, of Barbadoes, was the fourth and laſt, who ſealed his teſtimony with his blood under their hands. After much hardſhip, by impriſonment and many cruel ſtripes, he had been baniſhed from Boſton on pain of death. Returning ſoon after to viſit his friends in priſon there, he was apprehended, and kept night and day in an open jail, chained to a log of wood, during an extreme cold winter, exceeding in inclemency our ſevereſt ſeaſons in England. This poor man ſeems to have been perſecuted with peculiar inveteracy of malice. In his former impriſonment, he was kept in a priſon ſo cloſe, without ſuſtenance, that it bore the appearance of a deſign to ſuffocate or famiſh him, as the latter did of ſtarving him through the inclemency of the weather: but ſurviving all theſe hardſhips, he was brought before the court of aſſiſtants the 9th of the firſt month of this year with his chain and log at his heels: being ſet to the bar he was told, that *having returned from baniſhment, he had incurred the penalty of death by the law.* Upon which he aſked, *why what evil have I done?* To this the court anſwered, *he had owned thoſe that were put to death, had refuſed to put off his hat in court, and ſaid*

He is brought to his trial.

THEE

1661.

THEE *and* THOU. To which William aptly replied, *then you put me to death for ſpeaking Engliſh, and for not putting off my clothes.* Major general Denniſon abſurdly remarked, *a man might ſpeak treaſon in Engliſh.* William aſked, *If it was treaſon to ſay* THEE *and* THOU *to a ſingle perſon?* Next Simon Broadſtreet, a violent perſecutor, aſked him, *if he would go to England?* To whom William replied, *I have no buſineſs there.* Then ſaid Broadſtreet, *you ſhall go that way*, pointing to the gallows. The priſoner then appealed to England in the following terms, *Will you put me to death for breathing the air in your juriſdiction? What have you againſt me? I appeal to the laws of England for my trial, if by them I am found guilty, I refuſe not to die.* The court, as uſual, over-ruled his appeal, and attempted to perſuade him to a recantation, and a conformity to the religion preſcribed by their laws. But the concern of his mind being to teſtify againſt that religion, which without juſtice, mercy or proper authority (for they were not authorized by charter to make any laws inconſiſtent with thoſe of England, and for their tranſgreſſion of their power, loſt their charter ſome time after) could produce laws to puniſh other men with rancour, and put them to death for theirs, he conſiſtently and boldly replied, *What! join with ſuch murderers as you are; then let every man that meets me ſay, lo! this is the man that hath forſaken the God of his ſalvation.*

He appeals to England.

His appeal over-ruled.

The court then paſſed ſentence of death upon him, and appointed the 14th of the ſame month for his execution.

Sentenced to death.

That the ſpirit in which he died, was very different from the repreſentation of C. Mather, before

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before recited, the following extract from a letter written the day before his death is a convincing proof.

To the SOCIETY of the *little flock* of CHRIST, grace and peace be multiplied.

"Moſt dear and inwardly beloved friends,

"The ſweet influences of the morning ſtar, "like a flood diſtilling into my innocent habi- "tation, hath ſo filled me with the joy of the "Lord in the beauty of holineſs, that my ſpirit "is as if it did not inhabit a tabernacle of clay; "but is wholly ſwallowed up in the boſom of "eternity, from whence it had its being.

"What can the wrath and ſpirit of man that "luſteth to envy, aggravated by the heat and "ſtrength of the king of the locuſts, which "came out of the pit, do to one, that is ga- "thered under the healing wings of the prince "of peace? under whoſe armour of light they "ſhall be able to ſtand in the day of trial, hav- "ing on the breaſt-plate of righteouſneſs, and "the ſword of the ſpirit, which is their weapon "of war againſt ſpiritual wickedneſs, and the "rulers of the darkneſs of this world, within "and without.—I have ſtood ſtill in that watch, "which the maſter, without whom I could do "nothing, did at his coming reward with the "fulneſs of his love, wherein my heart did re- "joice, that I might in the love and life of God "ſpeak a few words to you, which may be a "ſavour of life to your life, and a teſtimony in "you of my innocent death, &c.

WM. LEDDRA."

The

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1661. The manner of his execution.

[a] The next day after the writing of this letter, the unrighteous ſentence pronounced againſt him was put in execution in the following manner. Firſt a morning lecture was appointed, in which the prieſt animated the magiſtrates to the execution of the intended tragedy. Although I pay a real regard to a ſincere religious diſpoſition under every profeſſion, yet I feel ſomething exceeding diſguſting, and even ſhocking, at cloaking cruelty and injuſtice under the maſk of ſanctity, and bringing in a ſhew of religion in aid of a conduct which violates the plaineſt laws of humanity and morality. The people called Quakers were reputed and repreſented by theſe perſecutors, as being under ſtrong deluſions; but what deluſion could be more abſurd or more miſchievous, than to think we ſerve God, by injuring, perſecuting and ſlaying our fellow-creatures.

Their pretended worſhip being over, the governor with a guard of ſoldiers came to the priſon, the priſoner's irons were knocked off, and after taking a ſolemn leave of his fellow-priſoners for the ſame teſtimony, being called, he came forth undiſmayed, and was immediately ſurrounded by the guard to prevent any of his friends from coming near to ſpeak to or accompany him. Being come to the place of execution, as he was aſcending the ladder, he took his leave of his friend Edward Wharton, with this expreſſion, *All that will be Chriſt's diſciples, muſt take up the croſs.* While he ſtood upon the ladder ſome perſon called out, *William, have you any thing to ſay to the people?* upon which he ſaid, *for bearing my teſtimony for the Lord againſt the deceivers and deceived am I brought here to ſuffer.*

Theſe

[a] Beſſe, vol. ii. p. 218.

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These expreſſions awakened the tender feelings and commiſeration of many of the ſpectators, which being obſerved by one Allen, a prieſt then preſent, in order to prevent the effects of ſuch impreſſions, he cried out, "People, I would "not have you think it ſtrange to ſee a man ſo "willing to die, for it is no new thing: and "you may read how *the Apoſtle ſaith, that ſome "ſhall be given up to ſtrong deluſions, and even "dare to die for it*;" though the text ſaith no ſuch thing; but the blind zeal of the man hurried him into a perverſion of the ſcripture, that he might harden the people's hearts againſt the innocent; who ſtanding as a man gathered up to God, and in peace with him, as the executioner was putting the halter about his neck, meekly ſaid, *I commend my righteous cauſe to thee, O God!* and as the ladder was turning, he cried out, *Lord Jeſus, receive my ſpirit.* Being dead, when the executioner cut him down, four of his friends, Edward Wharton, Robert Harper, John Chamberlain, and Philip Verrin, caught his body in their arms, and laid it on the ground, 'till the executioner had ſtript his clothes off, who, when he had done it, ſaid he was a comely man, and that Mary Dyer was a comely woman, and the others well ordered men according to their years. [b] His body being ſtripped, his ſaid friends were ſuffered to put it into a coffin, and bury it where they thought meet. A piece of humanity owing not to the inclinations of the perſecutors, but to the outcry of the people againſt the barbarity uſed to the dead bodies of the two men who were put to death before.

There

[b] Beſſe, vol. ii. p. 219.

There was preſent at his execution one Thomas Wilkie, a ſtranger, who was much affected with his caſe, of which he wrote the following account in a letter to a friend of his at Barbadoes, viz.

" Boſton, March the 26th, 1661.

A letter relating to the death of William Leddra.

" On the 14th of this inſtant, here was one " William Leddra put to death. The people of " the town told me he might go away if he would: " but when I made further enquiry, I heard the " marſhal ſay, *he was chained in priſon, from the " time he was condemned to the day of his execu-" tion.* I am not of his opinion; but yet truly " methought the Lord did mightily appear in " the man. I went to one of the magiſtrates " at Cambridge, who had been of the jury that " condemned him, and I aſked him by what " rule he did it? He anſwered me, that *he was " a rogue, a very rogue.* But what is this to " the queſtion, I ſaid, *where is your rule?* He " ſaid, he had abuſed authority. Then I went " after the man, and aſked him, *Whether he did " not look on it as a breach of rule to under-value " authority?* I ſaw then, when the man was on " the ladder, he looked on me, and called me " friend, and ſaid, *Know that this day I am to " offer up my life for the witneſs of Jeſus.* Then " I deſired leave of the officers to ſpeak, and " ſaid, *Gentlemen, I am a ſtranger both to your " perſons and country, and yet a friend to both.* And " I cried aloud, *for the Lord's ſake, take not away " the man's life, but remember Gamaliel's counſel " to the Jews: If this be of man it will come to " nought; but if it be of God, you cannot over-" throw it: but be careful ye be not found fighters " againſt God.* And the captain ſaid, *why had " you not come to the priſon?* The reaſon was

" becauſe

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" becauſe I heard the man might go if he would,
" and therefore I called him down from the
" tree, and ſaid, *come down, William, you may go*
" *if you will.* Then Capt. Oliver ſaid, *It was*
" *no ſuch matter*, and aſked, *what had I to do*
" *with it? and bid me be gone.* And I told them
" I was willing, for I could not endure to ſee
" this. And when I was in the town, ſome did
" ſeem to ſympathize with me in my grief, but
" I told them, *that they had no warrant from*
" *the word of God, nor precedent from our country,*
" *nor power from his Majeſty, to hang the man.*

To Mr. Geo. Lad, maſter of the America of Dartmouth, now at Barbadoes.

'your Friend,
THOMAS WILKIE.

Edward Wharton's examination.

At the ſame court by which William Leddra was condemned to death, Edward Wharton, who had been impriſoned near a year, was brought before their tribunal, where, when he appeared, he very reaſonably demanded *the cauſe wherefore he was forced from his habitation, while he was honeſtly following his lawful occupation, and here laid up as an evil-doer?* For which they had no better reaſon to aſſign than that *his hair was too long, and that he had diſobeyed that commandment, which ſaith, honour thy father and mother;* which they by a violent miſconſtruction applied to his not taking off his hat to the magiſtrates, to which he replied, " I love and honour all ma-
" giſtrates and rulers, who are for the puniſh-
" ment of evil doers, and the praiſe of them
" that do well." Then ſecretary Rawſon called out, *Edward Wharton come to the bar.*

Edward

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1661.

[c] *Edward Wharton.* Yea, and to the bench too, for thou haſt no evil to lay to my charge. *Secretary.* Hold up your hand. *Edw. Wharton.* I will not, thou haſt no evil to charge me with. *Secretary.* Edward Wharton, hear your ſentence of baniſhment. *Edw. Wharton.* Have a care what you do, for if you murder me, my blood will lie heavy upon you. *Secretary.* Edward Wharton attend to your ſentence of baniſhment: You are upon pain of death to depart this juriſdiction, it being the 11th of this inſtant March, by the one and twentieth of the ſame, on the pain of death. *Edw. Wharton.* I am a ſingle man, and I have dealings with ſome people; it were good I had time to make clear with all, and then if you have power to murder me, you may.

Sentence of baniſhment.

Then the governor and ſecretary laid their heads together.

Governor. If we ſhould give him a hundred days, it is all one. *Edw. Wharton.* Nay, I ſhall not go away, therefore be careful what you do.

Then addreſſing the people aſſembled in the court, he ſpoke audibly as followeth, viz.

" All people, take notice, what horrible, wicked and unjuſt men theſe are; for after they had unrighteouſly taken me from my houſe, where, when the conſtable came in, I was following my honeſt calling in the fear of the Lord, he forced me out, and led me along the country like ſome evil-doer, to the governor's houſe, where I aſked the governor what he had to charge me withal? who ſaid, *you ſhall know hereafter.* And now, they have kept me almoſt a year cloſe priſoner, night and day, they have baniſhed me on pain of

His addreſs to the people.

[c] Beſſe, vol. ii. p. 220.

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of death, and, for ought I know, they will murder me; and yet they have nothing to charge me withal, *but my hat and my hair.*"

Upon this Rawſon the ſecretary, taking the book of records, read to the people, how that contrary to law, Edward Wharton had travelled up and down with W. Robinſon and Marmaduke Stevenſon. To which Edward replied, "What readeſt thou that for? have you not plowed furrows on my back for that already, although you had no law for it?" For he had been cruelly whipped in 1659, and fined 20l. for travelling in company with the ſaid ſufferers.

Edward was then threatened, and commanded to quit the court, which he did; but, as he told them, continued in their juriſdiction, and publickly attended the execution of William Leddra. Which the perſecuting prieſts and magiſtrates now thought beſt to overlook, finding, that the more they condemned, the more the bloody work grew on their hands; and that they had the further mortification to perceive that the paſt executions had expoſed them to ſevere cenſure and infamy, with candid and unprejudiced minds in a general way. Therefore the fierceneſs of their rage being in ſome meaſure damped thereby, they were induced, though reluctantly, from theſe and other conſiderations, to proceed more cautiouſly in enforcing their ſanguinary law. With the firſt three that ſuffered under it they uſed very little ceremony, or form of trial, but as far as appears, condemned them to death almoſt as ſoon as brought to the bar, without much apology or prefatory introduction to their ſentence. Nor did William Leddra meet with much better treatment; yet he was allowed ſome ſemblance of a trial, but without a jury, and ſome liberty

to

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1661. Wenlock Chriſtiſon.

to ſpeak for himſelf (a privilege arbitrarily refuſed to the former) and ſtill greater liberty of vindicating his cauſe, was permitted Wenlock Chriſtiſon, the laſt who was tried for his life, upon their act for baniſhment, on pain of death, and who, with fortitude founded upon conſcious integrity, bravely maintained his cauſe and his innocence, and clearly expoſed the arbitrary meaſures of theſe perſecutors; undiſmayed at their menaces, and at the proſpect of loſing his life under their hands, as his brethren had done, he ſteadfaſtly defended himſelf againſt power without right, and with ſound reaſoning pleaded his cauſe, to the conviction of the audience, and even ſome of his judges, in his favour: ſo that although the intemperate governor in his paſſion condemned him to death, he, and his aſſociates, were diſcouraged by the current of popular odium, or fear of the conſequence, from putting the ſentence in execution.

It was at the time, when they were paſſing ſentence of death on William Leddra, that Wenlock Chriſtiſon, who had been alſo baniſhed on pain of death, not only returned to Boſton, as with his life in his hand, but came openly into the court. His appearance there at that time ſtruck the court with a ſudden damp and diſmay, ſo that for ſome time there was a general ſilence. But after a while recovering themſelves, they ordered him to be brought to the bar; when the marſhal bade him pull off his hat, which he refuſed, and a ſhort dialogue enſued, as followeth: Secretary Rawſon. *Is not your name Wenlock Chriſtiſon?* Wenlock. *Yes.* Endicot. *Waſt not thou baniſhed upon pain of death?* Wenlock. *Yea, I was.* Endicot. *What doeſt thou here then?* Wenlock. *I am come to warn you that you ſhould*

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ſhed no more innocent blood: for the blood you have ſhed already cries to the Lord for vengeance.

1661. Whereupon the governor ordered him into cuſtody. On the day that William Leddra was executed, the court ſat again, and thinking to terrify Wenlock by the example of William's death, had him brought into court, where both the governor Endicot and deputy Bellingham endeavoured, but in vain, to daunt the valiant confeſſor with dreadful menaces, telling him, that except he would renounce his religion, he ſhould ſurely die. But he, without the leaſt heſitation, anſwered them, Nay, I ſhall not change my religion, nor ſeek to ſave my life; neither do I intend to deny my maſter, but if I loſe my life for Chriſt's ſake, and the preaching of the goſpel, I ſhall ſave it. This undaunted reply put a ſtop to their further procedure at preſent; ſo they ſent him back to priſon, to be kept cloſe priſoner till the next court, which was to be held the latter end of the third month, and the beginning of the fourth month ſucceeding; at which he was again brought to the bar and put upon his trial.

His trial. The firſt queſtion put to him by the governor was, What he had to ſay for himſelf, why he ſhould not die? *Wenlock.* I have done nothing worthy of death: if I had, I refuſe not to die. *Governor.* Thou art come in among us in rebellion, which is as the ſin of witchcraft, and ought to be puniſhed. *Wenlock.* I came not in among you in rebellion, but in obedience to the God of heaven; not in contempt to any one of you, but in love to your ſouls and bodies; and that you ſhall know one day, when you and all men muſt give an account of the deeds done in the body.

body. Take heed, for you cannot eſcape the righteous judgments of God. CHAP. III. 1661.

Major-general Adderton. You pronounce woes and judgments, and thoſe that are gone before you pronounced woes and judgments; but the judgments of the Lord are not come upon us yet.

Wenlock. Be not proud, neither let your ſpirits be lifted up; God doth but wait till the meaſure of your iniquity be filled up, and that you have run your ungodly race, then will the wrath of God come upon you to the uttermoſt. And as for thy part, * it hangs over thy head, and is near to be poured down upon thee, and ſhall come as a thief in the night ſuddenly, when thou thinkeſt not of it. By what law will you put me to death? *Court.* We have a law, and by our law, you are to die. *Wenlock.* So ſaid the Jews of Chriſt, We have a law, and by our law he ought to die: Who impowered you to make that law? *Court.* We have a patent and are patentees, judge whether we have not power

* It is very remarkable that ſome time after, this officer who did thus in a manner bid defiance to heaven, having been on a certain day exerciſing the ſoldiers with much oſtentation, as he was returning home in the evening, near the place where they uſually looſed the Quakers from the cart after they had whipped them, [a] his horſe ſuddenly affrighted threw him with ſuch violence that he inſtantly died a ſhocking ſpectacle, his eyes being daſhed out of his head, his brains forced out at his noſe, and the blood running out of his ears: Being taken up, and brought into the court-houſe, where he had been active in ſentencing innocent people to death, his blood ran through the floor, exhibiting to the ſpectators an affecting inſtance of divine puniſhment of a daring and hardened perſecutor, made a frightful example of that judgment, which when warned of, he had openly deſpiſed and treated with diſdain, and which, as foretold, overtook him as a thief in the night.

[a] Beſſe, vol. ii. p. 270. Sewel, p. 343.

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to make laws? *Wenlock.* How! have you power to make laws repugnant to the laws of England? *Governor.* Nay. *Wenlock.* Then you are gone beyond your bounds, and have forfeited your patent, and this is more than you can anſwer. Are you ſubjects to the King, yea or nay?

Secretary Rawſon. What will you infer from that, what good will that do you? *Wenlock.* If you are, ſay ſo; for in your petition to the King, you deſire that he will protect you, and that you may be worthy to kneel among his loyal ſubjects. *Court.* Yes. *Wenlock.* So am I, and for any thing I know am as good as you, if not better: for if the King did but know your hearts, as God knows them, he would ſee that your hearts are as rotten towards him as they are towards God. Therefore ſeeing that you and I are ſubjects to the King, I demand to be tried by the laws of my own nation. *Court.* You ſhall be tried by a bench and jury *. *Wenlock.* That is not the law, but the manner of it; for if you will be as good as your word, you muſt ſet me at liberty, for I never heard or read of any law that was in England to hang Quakers. *Governor.* There is a law to hang Jeſuits. *Wenlock.* If you put me to death, it is not becauſe I go under the name of a Jeſuit, but a Quaker, therefore I appeal to the laws of my own nation. *Court.* You are in our hands and have broken our laws, and we will try you.

Wenlock.

* Thoſe who had been condemned to death before him were deprived of this privilege; but the government of England being changed by the King's reſtoration, they began to be afraid to go on in the former courſe, of condemning without a trial by jury, as being ſubverſive of the fundamental laws of England, and rights of Engliſhmen.

Wenlock. Your will is your law, and what you have power to do, that you will do: and ſeeing that the jury muſt go forth on my life, this I have to ſay to you in the fear of the living God: 'Jury, take heed what you do, for you ſwear by the living God, *that you will true trial make, and juſt verdict give, according to the evidence.* Jury, look for your evidence: what have I done to deſerve death? Keep your hands out of innocent blood.' This one of the jurymen acknowledged to be good counſel, yet the generality, either prejudiced in their minds, or afraid of the diſpleaſure of the court, from which they had received their leſſon, ſoon brought him in guilty. Wenlock then ſaid, I deny all guilt, for my conſcience is clear in the ſight of God. *Governor.* The jury hath condemned thee. *Wenlock.* The Lord doth juſtify me, who art thou that condemneſt?

Then the court proceeded to vote as to the ſentence of death, to which ſeveral of them would not conſent, being by his ſteadfaſtneſs in manifeſting his innocence, and the iniquity of their unſanctioned law, convinced in their conſciences that he had done nothing worthy of death. This diſſent provoked the governor to that unſeemly degree, that in a rage, throwing ſomething down on the table, he cried *I could find in my heart to go home.* The court divided.

To which Wenlock replied, It were better for thee to be at home than here, for thou art about a bloody piece of work.

Governor. You that will not conſent record it. I thank God, I am not afraid to give judgment. Wenlock Chriſtiſon, hearken to your ſentence: You muſt return to the place from whence

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1661. Yet the governor paſſes ſentence of death upon him.

whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, and there you muſt be hanged until you be dead, dead, dead, upon the 13th day of June, being the fifth day of the week.

Wenlock. The will of the Lord be done. In whoſe will I came amongſt you, and in whoſe counſel I ſtand, feeling his eternal power, that will uphold me to the laſt gaſp, I do not queſtion it: known be it to you all, that if you have power to take my life from me, my ſoul ſhall enter into everlaſting reſt and peace with God, where you yourſelves ſhall never come: and if you have power to take my life from me, the which I do queſtion, I believe, you ſhall never more take Quakers lives from them. Note my words. Do not think to weary out the living God by taking away the lives of his ſervants: what do you gain by it? For the laſt man you put to death here are five come in his room. And if you have power to take my life from me, God can raiſe up the ſame principle of life in ten of his ſervants, and ſend them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment, which is your portion: for there is no peace to the wicked, ſaith my God.

Governor. Take him away.

The holy confidence with which this concluding ſpeech of Wenlock's was uttered, conſidered with the ſequel, ſeem ſufficient to authorize the opinion, that a ſupernatural influence ſuggeſted it, notwithſtanding the prevailing notion amongſt the learned of this world that all pretenſions to inſpiration are enthuſiaſtick; the ſcripture informs us that great men are not always wiſe, neither do the aged underſtand judgment; but there is a ſpirit in man, and the inſpiration of the Almighty giveth them underſtanding.

According

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1661. An order for releasing the Quakers out of prison.

According to the governor's order, Wenlock Chriſtiſon was taken back to priſon, where he continued in faith and patience, reſigned to the will of God, and to ſuffer death for the teſtimony of a good conſcience. But before the day appointed for his execution, an order of court was iſſued for the enlargement of him, and twenty ſeven others then in priſon for their chriſtian teſtimony.

When the marſhal and conſtable came to ſet them at liberty, they informed them it was in conſequence of a * new law: upon which Wenlock remarked that "It was thought the gallows "had been their laſt weapon, that their magi- "ſtrates had alledged that their law was a good "and wholeſome law, made for their peace, "and the ſafe-guard of their country, adding, "what! are your hands weakened? the power "of God is over you all." The priſon doors being ſet open, the priſoners were by appointment of the court, by a guard armed with ſwords, driven out of the juriſdiction into the wilderneſs-country, and there left.

This ceſſation of ſanguinary proceedings, by the ſubſequent, plainly appears not to be owing to any tenderneſs, or recovery to a better mind in the perſecutors; but partly to the general odium and outcry of the more rational and moderate part on both ſides the Atlantic, againſt their putting men to death for religion, whilſt themſelves and their party, were not only ſtigmatizing, with every opprobrious epithet, that hierarchy, from whom they had experienced far leſs ſeverity; but had recourſe to arms, or to flight

* This new law was for baniſhing them, and if they returned, whipping them from town to town out of their juriſdiction.

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flight to get the power into their own hands, and abuſe it, even in a ſuperior degree; yet chiefly, I apprehend, owing to the change of government in England. From the king and miniſtry, betwixt whom and them there was no cordiality, they had no reaſon to expect any partiality in their favour, and being convicted in their conſciences, that they had tranſgreſſed the bounds of their authority, and the limitations of their charter, fearfulneſs of being called to account at this time, when their party had loſt the power of ſkreening them, was I believe the moſt prevalent reaſon with them to drop the execution of their illiberal and perſecuting law; but the ſpirit * of malevolence and perſecution continued to actuate them ſtill. In imitation of their brethren here, they called the Quakers vagabonds, and made a law to whip them as ſuch through every town in their way out of their juriſdiction; of the ſevere execution of this law, we ſhall ſee many affecting inſtances in the ſucceeding parts of this hiſtory, and that they finally ceaſed not their inhuman ſeverities until the principal agents were arreſted to appear in judgment before an higher tribunal than theirs.

When the tidings of theſe ſevere executions reached their friends in England, from the impulſe

* In Thomas Chalkley's journal, in his travels in New-England, in 1693, we meet with the following paſſage, "I "being a ſtranger and a traveller could not but obſerve the "barbarous and unchriſtian welcome I had into Boſton, the "metropolis of New England, *Oh what a pity*, ſaid one *that* "*all your ſociety were not hanged with the other four!*" This ſhews that the ſpirit of perſecution was alive in ſome of that people, long after the power of gratifying it was reſtrained. Beſſe.

pulſe of that fraternal ſympathy and affection, which made them nearly feel for and with each other in their afflictions, they thought it their duty to make immediate application to the king. For this purpoſe Edward Burrough, who had on many former occaſions, ſolicited for the relief of his friends, when under ſufferings in the various changes of government, repaired to court, to repeat his ſolicitations on behalf of the ſufferers in New-England; and having obtained acceſs to the King's preſence, informed him, *there was a vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions, which if it were not ſtopped might over-run all:* to which the king replied, *I will ſtop that vein.* It ſeems the king was pre-diſpoſed to ſtop their career by a previous information of their proceedings and diſpoſition from George Biſhop's book, containing a narrative of the cruel perſecution in New England, wherein reading a paſſage of Major General Denniſon's reply to ſome that threatened to complain of their illegal proceedings, which was this; *this year you will go to complain to the parliament, and the next year they will ſend to ſee how it is; and the third year the government is changed:* This paſſage immediately ſtruck him, ſo that calling to ſome of the lords to hear it, he ſaid, *Lo, theſe are my good ſubjects of New-England, but I will put a ſtop to them.* The king being hereby prepoſſeſſed againſt them, readily complied with Edward Burrough's ſolicitations, who repreſenting the caſe as urgent, as not knowing how many more might ſuffer death, in caſe of delay, he immediately gave orders to the ſecretary of ſtate to prepare a mandamus to ſtop their proceedings, which being ſoon drawn and perfected,

Edward Burrough ſolicits the king to ſtop the perſecution in New England.

The king in compliance with his ſolicitation orders his mandamus to ſtop it, and deputes Samuel Shattock his commiſſioner to carry it over.

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perfected, the king at the inſtance of Edward Burrough, granted a deputation to Samuel Shattock, an inhabitant of New England, and under ſentence of baniſhment on pain of death, to carry over the mandamus, a copy whereof followeth, viz.

" CHARLES R.

" Truſty and well beloved, we greet you well. " having been informed, that ſeveral of our ſub- " jects amongſt you, called Quakers, have been " and are impriſoned by you, whereof ſome " have been executed, and others (as hath been " repreſented unto us) are in danger to undergo " the like; we have thought fit to ſignify our " pleaſure in that behalf for the future: And " do hereby require, that if there be any of " thoſe people called Quakers amongſt you, now " already condemned to ſuffer death, or other " corporal puniſhment; or that are impriſoned, " and obnoxious to the like condemnation, you " are to forbear to proceed any further there- " in; but that you forthwith ſend the ſaid per- " ſons (whether condemned or impriſoned) over " into their own kingdom of England, together " with their reſpective crimes or offences laid to " their charge: To the end ſuch courſe may be " taken with them here, as ſhall be agreeable " to our laws and their demerits. And for ſo " doing, theſe our letters ſhall be your ſufficient " warrant and diſcharge. Given at our court " at Whitehall, the 9th day of September, 1660, " in the thirteenth year of our reign.

" Subſcribed:

" Subſcribed: To our truſty and well beloved CHAP.
" John Endicot, Eſq; and to all and every III.
" other the governor or governors of our Plan- 1661.
" tations of New England, and of all the Co-
" lonies thereunto belonging, that now are, or
" hereafter ſhall be; and to all and every the
" miniſters and officers of our Plantations and
" Colonies whatſoever, within the continent
" of New England.

By his Majeſty's command,

WILLIAM MORRIS."

In order to loſe no time in expediting a matter of ſuch conſequence, Ralph Goldſmith, commander of a good ſhip, and one of their own ſociety, was engaged for three hundred pounds to ſail in ten days, who immediately preparing and ſailing accordingly, arrived at Boſton in about ſix weeks. On their arrival in the harbour, ſome of the citizens coming on board to look for letters (which would not be delivered that day) at their return on ſhore, reported that the ſhip was full of Quakers, and amongſt them was Shattock, who was under ſentence of baniſhment on pain of death; but of his errand and authority they were ignorant.

A ſhip hired on purpoſe to carry it over.

Next morning Samuel Shattock went on ſhore, accompanied only by the maſter of the ſhip, and going directly to the governor's houſe, produced his commiſſion with the King's mandamus to the governor, who after the peruſal thereof, and conſulting the deputy governor, ſaid, *We ſhall obey his Majeſty's command.* After this the paſſengers came aſhore, and had a religious

The mandamus delivered and perſecution partly ſtopped.

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gious meeting with their friends in the town, to return thankſgivings to the God and Father of all their mercies, for his ſignal mercy manifeſted in this admirable deliverance.

Not long after, the following order of the court at Boſton was iſſued.

" To William Salter, keeper of the priſon at " Boſton.

Order for the releaſe of priſoners.

" You are required, by authority and order " of the general court, to releaſe and diſcharge " the Quakers, who at preſent are in your cuſ- " tody: See that you do not neglect this,

" By order of the court,

" EDWARD RAWSON, Sec."

Boſton,
9th Dec. 1661.

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The Rulers of New England ſend a Deputation to the King with an Addreſs of Congratulation, and Accuſation of the Quakers.—Interview between ſome of the People called Quakers and the New-England Deputies.—The Deputies, being alarmed, returned home.—Act againſt the Quakers brought into the Houſe of Commons.—Friends of London uſe endeavours to get it ſtopped.—Edward Burrough replies to the ſuggeſtion of danger to the public Peace.—Richard Hubberthorn to the danger of Inſurrections from their Meetings.—George Whitehead to their Meetings being termed unlawful.—They aſſert their Right to the Benefit of the King's Declaration from Breda.—The Bill paſſed.

THE rulers of the province of New England, during the time of the Commonwealth, and the ſucceeding revolutions of government in England, ſeem to have conſidered themſelves as independents in ſtate, as well as church, and we ſee had acted accordingly; making violent and arbitrary laws, without paying any regard to the reſtrictions of their charter, and executing them in as arbitrary a manner; looking upon the power as eſtabliſhed in their own hands there, and thoſe of their own party on this ſide, they would admit of no appeal to England, while they had nothing to fear from England:

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land: But after the king's reſtoration the caſe was altered, and then they ſeemed to be really alarmed with fear of the conſequences of the undue exertion of unlicenſed authority, and their refuſing to acknowledge the ſupremacy of England, in refuſing appeals for trial by its laws: In order to avert the danger and apprehended ill conſequences of their miſrule, they concluded to ſend a deputation to the king*. Colonel Temple was previouſly ſent to acquaint him that in ſubmiſſion to his commands the Quakers were ſet at liberty; and not long after he was followed by Simon Broadſtreet, ſecretary of the Maſſachuſet's colony, and John Norton, chief prieſt of Boſton, with an addreſs of congratulation to the king on his acceſſion to the throne. This addreſs introduced in a ſtyle of abject ſervility, proceeds to apologize for the unlicenſed ſeverities againſt the Quakers, by a moſt virulent and falſe accuſation of them, as a people not fit to live on the earth; and, as if the king had not a better opportunity of knowing their principles and practice in England, where the body of them reſided, they tell the king, "That the Quakers were "open capital blaſphemers;† open ſeducers "from the glorious Trinity, the Lord Chriſt, "and from the ſcriptures as the rule of life; "open

The New England rulers ſend a deputation to the king with an addreſs of congratulation and accuſation of the Quakers ſo called.

* Neale.

† This declamatory abuſe proves nothing but that the penmen were verſed in bearing falſe witneſs and calling names, and that their implacability to the Quakers retained its full ſtrength after their hands were tied up from putting them to death.

" open enemies to government itſelf †, eſtabliſh- CHAP.
" ed in the hands of any but men of their own IV.
" principles; malignant promoters of doctrines
" directly tending to ſubvert both our church 1661.
" and ſtate.—That after all other means uſed
" in vain, they were at laſt conſtrained, for
" their own ſafety, to paſs ſentence of baniſh-
" ment on pain of death."

After this notable apology for perſecution, and depriving their fellow-ſubjects of their civil and religious rights, their property, liberty and lives, they proceed to ſupplicate the king for his protection in the continuance of their religious and civil liberties, acquainting him, *that for liberty to walk in the way of the goſpel, with all good conſcience, they had choſen the wilderneſs, to which they removed, before the pleaſant land they had left behind, rather than ſubmit to the impoſitions of the then prevailing hierarchy, which they could not do, without an evil conſcience.

† *Turpe eſt doctori cum culpa redarguit ipſum.*

This again is not only mere declamation without proof, but the moſt groundleſs aſſertion, and moſt diametrically oppoſite to their real character, that could be imagined, to which a ſeries of conduct from their firſt riſe had given the lie. Men that by principle had been always ſubmiſſive to every government under which they lived; ſought after neither the emoluments, the honours, nor the power of the kingdoms of this world, but ſimply for protection in their religious and civil rights, were not, nor could be either open or ſecret enemies to government; neither did they ever diſcover even a wiſh to have the ſecular government in their hands. But here they meaſure the Quakers by their own rule of action, having, in purple characters, manifeſted themſelves enemies to every government, but in their own hands, and ſtopped neither at deceitful nor violent meaſures to ſeize and retain it in them.

* Neale.

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ſcience. Who could imagine that theſe tender-conſcienced men, ſhould ſo ſoon lay aſide all regard to the tender conſciences of others, all remains of tenderneſs and common humanity? That voluntary exiles for religious liberty, ſhould almoſt immediately forget the value of it ſo far, as to refuſe the enjoyment thereof to all but themſelves; that thoſe who could not ſubmit to the impoſitions of the hierarchy, without an evil conſcience, ſhould ſurpaſs that hierarchy in the cruelty of puniſhing ſuch as would not violate their conſciences in ſubmitting to them; or that any men ſhould be ſo inconſiſtent as to juſtify and deprecate perſecution in the ſame addreſs.

Interview between ſome of the people called Quakers and the New England deputies.

Whilſt theſe New England deputies were in London, the Quakers, ſo called there, had ſeveral interviews with them upon the ſubject of putting their friends to death; in which they endeavoured to palliate their proceedings, and diſguiſe the cruelty in which they were both deeply concerned: Norton, who had been a principal promoter of all their ſanguinary laws, excuſed himſelf by ſaying he did not aſſiſt at the trial of thoſe who were put to death, nor had adviſed it; but John Copeland, who had ſuffered the amputation of his ear at Boſton, charged the contrary upon him. Broadſtreet could not help owning his being a party in condemning them to death; and being, with his aſſociates, interrogated whether they would acknowledge themſelves ſubject to the laws of England, they anſwered in the affirmative: Being aſked by what law they did it? They replied, by the ſame law that Jeſuits were put to death in England. George Fox, upon this, demanded of

of them, whether they believed that his friends whom they had executed were Jeſuits, or jeſuitically inclined; they anſwered, Nay. Then ſaid he, ye have murdered them, for it plainly appears you have put them to death arbitrarily without any law. Upon which Broadſtreet inſinuated their aim was to inſnare them. But George Fox obſerved they had catched themſelves; and if the father of William Robinſon (who was not of their perſuaſion) were in town, it was probable he would queſtion them, and bring their lives into jeopardy. And ſome of the royaliſts were earneſt with the Quakers to proſecute them as murderers of the king's ſubjects without any law or authority from him. But their ſecurity lay in the pacifick and forbearing principles of thoſe whom they had perſecuted, whereby they were directed not to avenge themſelves, but commit their cauſe to the righteous judge, who will render to every man according to his works.

The deputies being alarmed return home.

However, theſe deputies being alarmed, and fearing the danger of ſtaying in England, thought it ſafeſt to ſecure themſelves by a precipitate retreat, and return home, where it ſeems they met with a cool reception.

What they had in commiſſion, beſides delivering the addreſs, I meet with no clear account; but Neal informs us the country was not ſatisfied with their conduct, he adds, "Whether "they flattered the court too much, or promiſ"ed more for their country than they ought is "uncertain; but when Norton came home, his "friends were ſhy of him, and ſome of the "people told him to his face that he had laid "the foundation of the ruin of their liberties,

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"which ſtruck him to the heart, and brought "him into ſuch a melancholy habit of body, "as haſtened his death*." William Sewel informs us that this Norton bowed to the archbiſhop with no leſs reverence than to the king; that by fawning upon the church party (whom they hated) they found means to reſerve a power to be vexatious to the Quakers ſo called, although they were prohibited from putting them to death: That many of the biſhops and others entertained inimical diſpoſitions to this ſociety, the ſevere perſecutions ſoon after raiſed againſt them evidently demonſtrate.

For they and their partiſans at court and in parliament having now the aſcendancy, after excluding the Preſbyterians from all offices of truſt or emolument in church or ſtate, proceeded to puniſh the Quakers, who affected neither, nor had

* His death was very ſudden; having been at his worſhip in the fore part of the day, and intending to go thither again in the afternoon, as he was walking in his own houſe he was obſerved to fetch a great groan; and leaning his head againſt the chimney piece was heard to ſay, *The hand*, or *judgment of the Lord is upon me*, and ſo ſunk down, and ſpoke no more, and had fallen into the fire, if an ancient man preſent had not prevented it. He having been a principal inſtigator of the magiſtrates to all their ſevere perſecution of this innocent people, even to put them to death, it was natural for them to conſider the manner of his death as a judgment upon him, and to rank him with ſeveral others who had been active promoters of cruelty againſt them, many of whom died not a natural death, but were either cut off by a ſudden ſtroke, or died with diſagreeable and loathſome ſymptoms about them. Neale ſays, "This reflection of the Quakers "(upon Norton's death) is very unjuſt, it being impoſſible for "us to diſtinguiſh between a natural and judicial death; yet I "heartily wiſh that neither he nor any body elſe, by their "unchriſtian ſeverities, had given them occaſion to make it."

had adminiſtered any juſt occaſion of offence, merely on account of their religious ſcruples and way of worſhip. For this purpoſe a bill was brought into parliament, entitled *An act for preventing miſchiefs and dangers, that may ariſe from certain perſons called* Quakers, *and others, refuſing to take lawful oaths.*

1661. Act againſt Quakers brought into the houſe of commons.

Although the title of the bill mentions only the refuſal to take oaths; yet the bill itſelf takes in their religious aſſemblies, enacting that if five or more Quakers of ſixteen years of age or upwards aſſemble under pretence of joining in religious worſhip, as well as refuſing to take an oath, the party offending ſhall forfeit for the firſt offence a ſum not exceeding five pounds, or ſuffer three months impriſonment, for the ſecond offence the penalty to be doubled, and for the third they were to abjure the realm or be tranſported.

Some of this ſociety in London getting early intelligence of this bill, and the contents thereof, thought their duty to themſelves and their brethren demanded their interceſſion with the parliament to ſtop its progreſs. Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, and George Whitehead attended the parliament to ſolicit againſt paſſing the bill into an act: When it was committed, they attended the committee ſundry times; but their ſolicitations were not followed with the like ſucceſs as Edward Burrough's late application to the king had been. They were again admitted to give their reaſons againſt the act, at the bar of the houſe. But political conſiderations, party animoſity, and bigotted and exaſperated zeal for the church (ſo called) were the moving cauſes of action with the majority:

Friends in London uſe endeavours to get it ſtopped.

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Appeals to their reaſon and humanity were vain: A reſolution determined upon theſe motives deafened their ears to the cleareſt arguments addreſt to the one, and deadened their hearts to the feelings of the other. Their admiſſion of theſe Quakers to plead their cauſe ſeems no more than matter of form, and to ſave appearances; for if they had not been predetermined to paſs the bill at all events, the weakneſs and futility of the charges brought in ſupport thereof, and the urgent reaſons advanced againſt it, appear ſufficient to influence any rational and unprejudiced body of men to lay it aſide.

Their ſentiments reſpecting oaths had been lately preſented to the king and council in writing by Edward Burrough, in a paper he entitled *a juſt and righteous plea*, wherein he exhibited at large the reaſons why the people called Quakers refuſed oaths in general, and particularly the oath of allegiance; that it was not from any diſreſpect or unfaithfulneſs to the king and his government, but merely for conſcience-ſake, being afraid of diſobeying Chriſt's command, which was expreſs and determinate *ſwear not at all:* That they are and ſhall be faithful, innocent and peaceable in their reſpective ſtations and conditions, under the government of king Charles II. whom they acknowledge ſupreme magiſtrate and governor over this kingdom, and are conſcientiouſly obedient to him in all his commands, either by doing what he juſtly requireth, or patiently ſuffering whatever is inflicted upon them, when any thing is required which they apprehend inconſiſtent with the juſt law of God. That it had ever been with them an eſtabliſhed religious principle, confirmed by a conſonant practice,

practice, to enter into no plots, combinations or rebellions againſt government, nor to ſeek deliverance from injuſtice or oppreſſion by any ſuch means. CHAP. IV. 1661.

Having thus lately preſented to the government their reaſons for declining oaths; their remonſtrances to the parliament were principally confined to their religious meetings: * In the preamble to the bill it was recited that their meetings were to the great endangering of the public peace and ſafety, and to the terror of the people; this they denied, Edward Burrough alledging they were in nowiſe to the terror of the people, but peaceable and harmleſs, and purely for the worſhip of God in that manner and form, which by his law in their hearts, they were perſuaded he required of them; that in this reſpect they endeavoured to copy after the example of the primitive chriſtians; that being convinced of the neceſſity of preſerving a good conſcience inviolate and void of offence to God or man, no human law or ordinance could diſſolve the obligation of the ſuperior law of God in their conſciences, or exculpate them in diſobeying thereof; and that as the worſhip of God was an indiſpenſable duty required by this law, they could not refrain keeping up their meetings for that purpoſe, whatever ſufferings human laws might ſubject them to on that account; becauſe if, through fear of man, they ſhould neglect this reaſonable ſervice of their maker, they thereby violate this divine law in their conſciences, and that peace of

Edward Burrough replies to the ſuggeſted danger of the public peace.

* George Whitehead's Journal, page 261, 262, &c.

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of mind, which they preferred to every temporary enjoyment; that, therefore, they preſume they ought not to paſs a bill of this nature, it being contrary to the law of God.

It being alſo ſuggeſted in the ſaid preamble that being numerous and holding a ſtrict correſpondence amongſt themſelves, their meetings might be more dangerous to contrive and cauſe inſurrections, &c.

Richard Hubberthorn to the danger of inſurrections from their meetings.

To this Richard Hubberthorn made anſwer to this purport. That there could be no ſuch danger in their meetings as was implied, becauſe being public, and open for the reception of all perſons, who choſe to reſort to them, to ſee and hear all that was tranſacted therein, there was no probability that they ſhould plot or contrive inſurrections in the face of the world; that the reducing of their meetings to the number of four or five, beſides the family, appeared to be a meaſure not calculated for the preventing of ſuch pernicious deſigns, if they were a people of ſuch bad principles (which they were not) but rather to furniſh more convenient opportunities for promoting them, for it would not break their correſpondence, but afford them the means of carrying it on more privately, and in a manner better accommodated for forming and advancing a plot: Wherefore it appeared more prudent and eligible to ſuffer their meetings to be public, as they were, rather than to puniſh a numerous body of people, on cauſeleſs ſuſpicion of danger, ſupported by no matter of fact, or the leaſt occaſion adminiſtered by them.

One of the members, called Sir John Goodrick, being liberal in his invectives and common-

place

place calumnies againſt them and their meetings, terming them unlawful or contrary to law, and tending to ſeduce the people from the church;

George Whitehead, to their meetings being termed unlawful.

George Whitehead replied to him, that if their meetings were contrary to law, it implied there exiſts ſome law already to which they are contrary; and if there be a law already in force againſt them, it ſeems quite ſuperfluous and unneceſſary for you to make a new one: But, we truſt, no ſuch thing can be proved againſt us, as that our meetings, properly ſpeaking, are in themſelves unlawful, being in obedience to the Lord, only for his worſhip, and agreeable to the practice of the primitive chriſtians, and therefore not unlawful in the proper ſenſe of the word. He alſo obſerved, that if they ſuffered for keeping them up, under perſuaſion of duty, they ſhould ſuffer for the cauſe of God, and ſo commit their cauſe to him who would judge righteouſly between them and their perſecutors, exhorting the houſe to act in his fear; for they might as well make a law, that the Quakers (ſo called) ſhould not pray in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, as one that they ſhould not aſſemble for divine worſhip, which they dared no more to refrain, than Daniel did to pray to the true God, although it was contrary to king Darius's decree.

He deſired them to conſider what guilt and diſrepute they might bring upon themſelves, by making a law, the execution whereof muſt produce grievous ſufferings upon thouſands of innocent people in the nation (who in juſtice ought to be protected by law) endanger the utter ruin of many families, and the loſs of many lives in priſons.

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When mankind, from the illuſions of party-heat, come to recover ſound and diſpaſſionate judgment, what an indelible ſtain muſt it leave on the reputation or memory of thoſe, who deaf to every ſentiment of juſtice and compaſſion, could be inſtrumental to the oppreſſion of an innocent people! againſt whom no matter of fact, or crime worthy of ſuffering, could be proved, or juſtly laid to their charge.

He obſerved further, that if the bill before them was paſſed into a law, it would give encouragement to wicked, rude and lawleſs perſons to abuſe them beyond the law, as they had lately done upon the King's proclamation; when ſeveral of their friends were by rude fellows taken out of their beds; poor men dragged from their lawful employments, and their poor families, whoſe ſubſiſtence depended on their daily labour; others ſeized travelling about their lawful occaſions on the King's highway, and all hurried to priſon illegally, without warrant, or authority, even from the proclamation. Therefore, in caſe the intended act was paſſed, they had reaſon to apprehend the repetition of theſe abuſes to a greater degree; as ſuch rude and unprincipled perſons would look upon it as a licence, to gratify their malicious diſpoſitions with all kinds of cruelty and injurious treatment of them.

They aſſert their right to the benefit of the King's declaration from Breda.

Finally, they aſſert their right to the indulgence to tender conſciences upon the King's ſolemn promiſe in his declaration, that no man ſhall be called to account for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not diſturb the peace of the kingdom. That their demeanour having been peaceable, inoffenſive to their neighbours,

neighbours, and ſubmiſſive to the government, they were within the deſcription of thoſe who were entitled to the indulgence; and having never forfeited their right thereto, they could not be reſtrained in matters of worſhip and conſcience towards God, without wounding the King's honour, and violating the publick faith.

Concluſive as theſe arguments were, although they had an effect upon ſeveral of the members, ſo that they appeared ſerious and ſober in their carriage towards the appellants, and ſome of them owned, what they advanced was very reaſonable, and if the members had feared God, or regarded equity, they would not have paſſed the act; and although ſupported by the abilities of Edmund Waller, (diſtinguiſhed for his poetical performances,) in a candid and liberal ſpeech on the occaſion; as alſo by Michael Mallet, Sir John Vaughan and others; yet they were ineffectual with the majority of the houſe, compoſed of courtiers, penſioners to the crown, and bigots to epiſcopal authority, with whom the dictates of the court, and the imagined intereſts and power of the epiſcopal church preponderated, againſt reaſon, right and juſtice, ſo that the bill was paſſed into a law; in conſequence whereof, great perſecutions and impriſonments enſued.

The bill paſſed.

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Account of Impriſonments.—Steadfaſtneſs of the People called Quakers.—Modelling the Magiſtracy in conſequence of the Corporation Act.—Diſpoſition of the Judges.—The People called Quakers the greateſt Sufferers.—Conjectural Enquiry into the Cauſes. 1. *Their pacific Principles.* 2. *Their Conſtancy in keeping up their Meetings openly.* 3. *Their Plain-dealing.—Richard Brown's Proceedings.—Account of John Perrot.—Commencement of the Execution of the late Act.—Rude and illegal Behaviour of Philip Millar.—Trial of John Crook and others.—They are not proſecuted by the late Act; but by the* 3*d. James I. for declining the Oath of Allegiance.—Third Day's Trial. The firſt Jury diſcharged, and a new one picked for the Trial.—The Priſoners move for Time to traverſe the Indictment, which is refuſed.—The Jury ſworn and Evidence given out of the Hearing of the Priſoners.—Sentence of Premunire paſſed upon them.—Reflection on the Hardſhips attending the Society, and their Conſtancy.—Several others run to a Premunire for not ſwearing.—Robert Smith, Thomas Stordy, and Stephen Pearſon, John King and others, Ambroſe Rigg, Thomas Goodyear, and Benjamin Staples.*

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1661. Account of impriſonments.

AMONGST the great number impriſoned upon this act were the three before-mentioned advocates againſt the law, Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn and George Whitehead, the

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the two former of whom, with many others, finiſhed their teſtimony to the truth, by laying down their lives in priſon for the conſcientious diſcharge of their duty, in obeying God in contradiction to the ordinances of men. The ſincerity of the members of this ſociety was put to a ſevere teſt, by the multiplied calamities that befel them by this and other perſecuting laws, of which this parliament are reckoned to have made more than any other ſince the reformation; but the unwearied patience and fortitude with which they bore their ſufferings, to the loſs of the ſubſtance, liberty and lives of many, is an irrefragable proof of their integrity; and that they were ſuſtained by divine ſupport, to bear hardſhips above the power of mere humanity to endure, with a firmneſs, which the perſevering cruelty of their perſecutors could not overcome; heartily diſpoſed, above all things, to pleaſe their Maker, and having an eye to the recompenſe of reward, they were enabled, in the ſteady purſuit of future happineſs, patiently to endure the afflictions permitted to befal them in their pilgrimage on earth.

Steadfaſtneſs of the perſecuted Quakers.

[a] In purſuance of the corporation act, the corporations had been modelled by commiſſioners appointed by the parliament, and inveſted with an abſolute authority to deprive every officer or magiſtrate, who was not entirely devoted to the King and church of England, of their offices. This power was exerciſed with the greateſt rigour, ſo that few or none were continued in the magiſtracy, or put into commiſſion in corporations or elſewhere, who were not of the ſame principles with the majority of the houſe of commons,

Modelling the magiſtracy in conſequence of the corporation act.

[a] Rapin.

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mons, and determined to execute the penal laws with ſeverity.

1662. Diſpoſition of the judges.

Not only the juſtices and inferior magiſtrates were choſen from men of this partial caſt; but the judges and other adminiſtrators of the law, who ought to be ſtrict diſpenſers of juſtice without reſpect to perſons, ſeem to have been ſelected to fill the benches, more in conſideration of a paſſionate ſpirit againſt non-conformiſts, than that juriſprudence or that conſcientious reverence to equity and legal juſtice, which are the peculiar ornaments and peculiar qualifications of that important ſtation, to which the ſecurity of life, liberty and eſtate is entruſted: it is manifeſt that, on many occaſions, they paid little regard to equity or decorum, but diſcovered an intemperate party ſpirit, and palpable partiality in the ſeat of judgment, influencing the juries by undue means to bring in unjuſt verdicts, menacing and fining them, when they were too conſcientious to do ſo: loading the priſoners with abuſive reproaches, and paſſing ſentence upon them in an inſulting and paſſionate temper.

Quakers the greateſt ſufferers.

Of this combination of inimical diſpoſitions all the claſſes of non-conformiſts felt the ſevere effects; but the heavieſt weight of ſufferings fell upon the Quakers, who had adminiſtered leaſt occaſion. The reaſon why they were marked out in particular as objects of ſuch unrelenting cruelty, were probably theſe; firſt, their pacific principles, which ought to have ſecured them protection from equal government, might encourage ſuch magiſtrates, as were at this time in authority, to proſecute them with the utmoſt rigour of the law, and frequently beyond the law, as apprehending no danger of being called to account

Conjectural enquiry into the cauſes, 1. their pacific principles.

by

by them, or as depending upon the protection of their ſuperiors. CHAP. V.

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Secondly, while other diſſenters could temporize ſo far as to diſguiſe and conceal themſelves, and hold their meetings clandeſtinely to eſcape the enacted penalties; the Quakers, perfect ſtrangers to diſſimulation, and undaunted in bearing a publick teſtimony againſt the iniquity of human laws, prohibiting them from their conſcientious duty of worſhipping God, in the way they were perſuaded was moſt acceptable to him, thought it baſe and diſhonourable, as not confeſſing Chriſt before men, to deſert their religious meetings for fear of ſuffering: therefore they valiantly, and often ſingly, kept them up in the hotteſt time of perſecution at the appointed times and places, as believing no law of man could exempt them from the obligation they were under to obey the law of God, of which his worſhip, according to the conviction of their own conſciences, and not according to the preſcriptions of men, was an eſpecial part; nor reſcue them from his righteous judgment for the violation of known duty. This their perſecutors would needs conſider as flying in the face of law and government, and being greatly provoked at their conſtancy (which they termed obſtinacy) as baffling their ſcheme of totally ſubduing all the diſſenting ſects, they exerted every effort of their malice, and their power, to make them more compliant to their wills.

2. Their conſtancy in keeping up their meetings openly.

Thirdly, believing it their duty to promote righteouſneſs in the earth, and teſtify againſt ſin and iniquity wherever or in whomſoever it appeared, as they had, under the former government, borne plain teſtimonies againſt the hypocriſy and outſide ſanctity of the formal profeſſors of

Their plain dealing even with the greateſt.

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of religion, ſo they honeſtly teſtified againſt the open profanity, debauchery and contempt of all religion of this age.

We have two epiſtles to King Charles, long before Robert Barclay's dedication of his apology, written by the two George Foxs; the firſt from George Fox the elder, ſo called for diſtinction, as the elder member of the ſociety, written ſoon after the King's reſtoration, and the other ſome time after, a copy of each whereof I inſert, as a ſpecimen of the honeſt plain-dealing of men, who, with Elihu, knew not to flatter, leſt in ſo doing their maker ſhould take them away.

"To the KING.

"King Charles,

"Thou cameſt not into this nation by ſword, "nor by victory of war; but by the power of "the Lord: now if thou doſt not live in it, "thou wilt not proſper. And if the Lord hath "ſhewed thee mercy, and forgiven thee, and "thou doſt not ſhew mercy, and forgive; the "Lord God will not hear thy prayers, nor them "that pray for thee. And if thou do not ſtop "perſecution, and perſecutors, and take away "all laws, that do hold up perſecution about "religion; but if thou do perſiſt in them, and "uphold perſecution; that will make thee as "blind, as them that have gone before thee. "For perſecution hath always blinded thoſe, "that have gone into it: and ſuch God by his "power overthrows, and doth his valiant acts "upon; and bringeth ſalvation to his oppreſſed "ones. And if thou doſt bear the ſword in

"vain,

" vain, and let drunkenneſs, oaths, plays, may-
" games, (with fidlers, drums, trumpets, to play
" at them) with ſuch like abominations and
" vanities, be encouraged, or go unpuniſhed; as
" ſetting up of may-poles, with the image of
" the crown a top of them, &c. the nations will
" quickly turn like Sodom and Gomorrah, and
" be as bad as the old world; who grieved the
" Lord, till he overthrew them: and ſo he will
" you, if theſe things be not ſuddenly prevent-
" ed. Hardly was there ſo much wickedneſs at
" liberty before now, as there is at this day;
" as though there was no terror, nor ſword of
" magiſtracy; which doth not grace a govern-
" ment, nor is a praiſe to them that do well.
" Our prayers are for them that are in authori-
" ty; that under them we may live a godly life,
" in which we have peace: and that we may
" not be brought into ungodlineſs by them. So
" hear, and conſider, and do good in thy time,
" whilſt thou haſt power; and be merciful, and
" forgive; that is the way to overcome, and
" obtain the kingdom of Chriſt.

GEORGE FOX."

Extract of an Epiſtle of George Fox the younger to King Charles II.

" The King of Kings hath beheld all thy act-
" ings in the dark, and he hath traced thy walk-
" ing in obſcure places; and thou haſt not hid
" thy counſels from the Almighty, but he hath
" ſeen all the intents of thy heart, and thy good
" words have not deceived him, nor thoſe that
" purely ſtood in his counſel: For he hath ſeen
" the ſnares and the pits, which have been privily

" preparing

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" preparing for the innocent, even in the time " when ſmooth words have been given. Oh! " that thou wouldeſt have taken counſel of the " Lord, and obeyed the ſame, thou ſhouldeſt " have been proſpered; but thou haſt taken " counſel of them that have cauſed thee to err: " Thou haſt alſo ſought to exalt and eſtabliſh " thyſelf and thy own honour, and not the truth " and honour of God only, which if thou hadſt " truly done, God would have honoured thee. " Thou haſt greatly diſhonoured and grieved the " Lord, by ſetting up miniſters, whom he ap- " proveth not, and by providing them a forced " maintenance, that ſo they may make a prey of " his people, who for conſcience-ſake cannot put " into their mouths, being ſpiritually gathered " therefrom by the word of the Lord.—O friend, " it is not the perſon of any man which the Lord " regards, but it is righteouſneſs which he hath " regard to; and ſo far as man acts in righteouſ- " neſs, ſo far only is he accepted of the Lord, " whatever his ſtation may be.

" Thou haſt alſo grieved the holy Spirit, by " thy ſuffering all theſe wicked and profane " ſhows and ſports, which have abounded ſince " thy coming in. Thou haſt highly diſpleaſed " the Lord God, by thy ſuffering perſecution to " be carried on in thy name, even whilſt thou in " words haſt promiſed liberty: Yea many are " this day confined in holes and priſons for the " teſtimony of a good conſcience. The Lord is " diſpleaſed with the pride and wickedneſs that " abounds both in thy dominions and in thy fa- " mily; and thou thyſelf haſt not been ſuch a " pattern and example as thou oughteſt to have " been. When I behold the wickedneſs, cruelty " and oppreſſion, which abound in this nation

" in

" in open view, beſides the ſecret abominations, CHAP.
" which are committed, and are plotting and V.
" lurking in chambers, what idolatry is intended
" in ſecret to be introduced, I am ready to con- 1661.
" clude it had been better for thee, thou hadſt
" never come. Although many men flatter and
" applaud thee for ſelfiſh ends, yet I ſee the Lord
" is diſpleaſed with thy ways. Such as thou ſow-
" eſt, ſuch thou muſt reap. This is the truth
" that muſt ſtand, and in love to thy ſoul it is
" declared by him, who muſt deal uprightly
" with all men: Though for it I ſuffer out-
" wardly, yet I have a witneſs in thy conſcience,
" to which I am made manifeſt, and peace with
" the Lord is my portion, which is better than
" an earthly crown."

GEORGE FOX, the younger.

[1] This letter being delivered to the king, it is ſaid he ſeemed to be conſiderably affected with the contents; but that his brother the duke of York, whoſe temper was more gloomy, reſerved, and vindictive, being greatly exaſperated at the writer, adviſed the king to puniſh him; but the king, with much propriety, replied, *It were better for us to mend our lives.*

The mayor, Richard Brown, continued his ſeverity, and ſent fifty-ſeven more to priſon; for ſuch was his pride and paſſion, that he could not endure the ſight of a Quaker without wrath and reſentment. It happened on the 31ſt of the month called March this year, he eſpied Edward Gollin, a pretty way from him in Guildhall, with his hat on, inoffenſively diſcourſing with ſome perſons met there about buſineſs, whereupon the mayor R. Brown's proceedings.

[1] Sewel.

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ordered him to be ſent to Newgate: Another time, as he was going to the ſame place, he ſaw two men in the yard near Blackwell-hall, with their caps on, whereupon he ſent for them, and committed them to the counter, where they were detained till the expiration of his mayoralty.

As one Philip Harwood was coming up Foſter-lane, the mayor riding by, ſtopped his horſe, and aſked Philip *whether he was not a Quaker?* He anſwered, I am ſo called: Upon which the mayor, without any more words, ordered him to Newgate, where he lay about three months. He gave many inſtances of the cruelty of his diſpoſition, one of which was, that when the wife of Nicholas Ridley had been ſent by him to Bridewell, and fell ſick there, her huſband came to the mayor, interceding for her liberty; to whom he gave this churliſh anſwer, *Let her lie there and rot, thee mayeſt get another wife the ſooner*; and inſtead of ſhewing mercy to the ſick woman, ſent her huſband to Newgate for aſking it.

About this time, beſide the heavy ſufferings from the ſecular powers, this people were affected with inteſtine troubles, occaſioned by the caprice and vanity of one John Perrot.

[c] This man had joined in ſociety with the people called Quakers pretty early, and too early taken upon him the miniſterial office: Being puffed up with a vain opinion of his own abilities, he muſt needs go to Rome to convert the pope, and procuring one John Love to accompany him, when they arrived at Leghorn they were taken up and examined by the inquiſition, and are reported upon their examination to have given their anſwers in a manner ſo ſatisfactory, as to obtain their

[c] T. Elwood.

their diſmiſſion with impunity. [d] From thence they went to Venice, and afterwards to Rome, where they had not been long till they were taken up and impriſoned; *Love*, as reported, in the inquiſition, and Perrot in their Bedlam or hoſpital, for madmen. Love died in priſon, not without well-grounded ſuſpicion of his being murdered there. The report divulged was, that he had faſted to death; but it is ſaid, ſome nuns confeſſed he was privately diſpatched in the night, for his teſtifying againſt the idolatry of their religion. Perrot lay there ſometime longer. Sewel repreſents him as a man of great natural parts; but Thomas Elwood as not very unfit for the priſon in which he was confined, becauſe during his confinement he writ ſome epiſtles, to be printed in England, in ſuch an affected fantaſtical ſtile as beſpoke him ſcarce ſound in mind.

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At length, through the ſolicitation of friends to ſome perſon of note and intereſt there, he was releaſed, and returned to England. If he was elevated with ſpiritual pride and vain conceit before he went abroad, the report of his great ſufferings, joined with a great appearance of ſanctity, gaining him the compaſſionate affection and eſteem of many friends, his imaginary conſequence and exaltedneſs of mind was encreaſed to that degree, that he thought himſelf farther enlightened than George Fox, and the reſt of his friends, and as an evidence thereof maintained that the cuſtom of putting off their hats in joining in public prayer, was only a piece of formality and cuſtom of the world, which ought not to be practiſed without an immediate motion thereto. That regard, which the exaggerated report of his ſufferings had

[d] Sewel, p. 290.

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procured him, and the fondneſs for novelties natural to many, attached a conſiderable number of adherents to him, to the introducing confuſion and diſorder in worſhip. The next extravagance he adopted, was to let his beard grow, in which he was followed by ſeveral of his partiſans. George Fox and the principal body of friends, foreſeeing the danger of drawing off the mind from a proper attention to the neceſſary work of inward ſanctification, into jangling and contention about outward obſervations of little importance, exerted their endeavours to prevent the ſpreading of the deception, which they could not effectually do for ſome years; till Perrot manifeſted more plainly the error of his ſpirit, and depravity of his heart, by the inſtability and enormity of his conduct. He went to America, and there his airy unſtable notions led him into manifeſt ſenſualities and fleſhly liberties, fantaſtically putting on gaudy apparel, and wearing a ſword; and under the pretence of being above forms, went ſo far at laſt, as to reckon meeting for worſhip a form; and by his example and doctrine led many to forſake the aſſembling themſelves together, as we ſhall have occaſion more particularly to ſpecify, when we come to treat of the ſtate of this ſociety in America, where having obtained ſome poſt under the government, he who had before profeſſed that Chriſt had forbidden all ſwearing, is reported to have diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a moſt rigorous exacter of oaths.

About the time that George Fox was excited to eſtabliſh an orderly diſcipline in the ſociety, he felt a warm impreſſion of duty on his mind to appoint a meeting in London with thoſe who had been ſeduced by the ſaid Perrot into a ſeparation from the ſociety, to endeavour to recover them

to

to a ſound underſtanding, and reſtore them to that unity of the body, which they had broken (in part at leaſt) by their deviation; and through the divine bleſſing and aſſiſtance attending his and his friends labour of love, they were generally recovered, acknowledged their error, and returned into the unity of the ſociety; whereby an end was put to this ſeparation in England. 1661.

It was with the commencement of this year that the aforementioned act againſt the Quakers came in force, and the ſame hoſtile ſpirit that dictated the framing and paſſing it, diſcovered itſelf in the execution. One Philip Millar appears to be the firſt that moleſted them in London; who, although veſted with no office or legal authority, without any order or warrant, came to the meeting in John's-ſtreet, with a rabble of people attending him, and having a cane in his hand, commanded the attendant rabble to ſeize whom he pleaſed: He then applied to the conſtable, and with menaces obliged him to go with him: Of thoſe he had ordered to be ſeized he ſelected five, and had them carried before a juſtice, who committed them to priſon. Some days after he came again to the ſame meeting place, and becauſe the perſons aſſembled would not depart at his command, he ſtruck ſeveral of them with his cane, and then charged the conſtable, whom he had brought with him, with as many of them as he thought proper, amongſt whom was John Crook, who before his convincement had been a juſtice of peace; they being taken before a juſtice, he took their words to come to him next morning, which they did, when he ordered them to appear before the juſtices, then ſitting at Hicks's-hall, who committed nine of them to Newgate. 1662. Commencemen of executing the act. Rude and illegal behaviour of Ph. Millar.

They

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Thus we ſee the apprehenſion of thoſe of this ſociety, who appeared at the houſe of commons, againſt this law, that, if paſſed into an act, rude and unprincipled perſons might take occaſion to abuſe them beyond law, was not viſionary; and of ſuch-like illegal treatment we meet with numerous inſtances. Next let us take a view what ſatisfaction they received for their falſe impriſonment, as a ſpecimen of the kind of juſtice diſpenſed in this reign.

Remark.

Trial of John Crook and others.

John Crook and others being brought before the juſtices at Hick's-hall, and on their examination pointing out the illegality of their apprehenſion without warrant, and the proceedings thereupon, were notwithſtanding committed to priſon. An indictment was drawn up againſt them, upon the late act againſt Quakers; after which they were removed to Newgate in order to their trial at the Old Bailey. On the 25th of the month called June, three of them were ſelected to begin with, viz. John Crook, termed gentleman, Iſaac Grey, phyſician, and John Bolton, goldſmith, men of property and character, who notwithſtanding, as the firſt ſymptom of the diſpoſition of the court, were now ranked with the vileſt criminals, being thruſt into the baledock amongſt felons and murderers; from whence John Crook being called to the bar, inſtead of being charged with any crime, or any indictment upon the late act, it ſeems a ſurer and ſeverer method of crimination had been concerted. The judge began with the following queſtion:

Not proſecuted on the late act.

Judge. When did you take the oath of allegiance?

John Crook. I have been ſix weeks in priſon, and am I now called to accuſe myſelf? which you ought

ought not to put me upon. Nemo debet ſeipſum accuſare. I am an Engliſhman, and by the law of England I ought not to be taken or impriſoned, nor diſſeized of my freehold, nor called in queſtion, nor put to anſwer, but according to the law of the land. I ſtand here at this bar as a delinquent, and do deſire that my accuſer may be brought forth, and then I ſhall anſwer to my charge, if any I be guilty of. CHAP. V. 1662.

Judge. You are here demanded to take the oath of allegiance, and when you have done that, you ſhall be heard about the other, for we have power to tender it to any man. Required to take an oath.

John Crook. Not to me upon this occaſion, in this place, for I am brought hither as an offender already, and not to be made an offender here, or be obliged to criminate myſelf. I challenge the benefits of the laws of England; for by them is a better inheritance derived to me as an Engliſhman, than that which I received from my parents; for by the former the latter is ſecured: This the 29th chapter of magna charta, the petition of right of Car. I. and other good laws of England have confirmed; therefore, in claiming the benefit of them, I demand no more than my right. And you that are judges on the bench ought to be my council, and not my accuſers, but to inſtruct me in the benefit of the laws, that I may not, through ignorance, loſe any advantage, which the laws of my country afford me, as an Engliſhman.

C. Judge. We ſit here to do juſtice, and are upon our oaths *; and we are to tell you what is law,

* This chief judge would have done well ſeriouſly to conſider, while he was preparing and predetermined to puniſh honeſt

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law, and not you us: Therefore, ſirrah, you are too bold.

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John Crook. Sirrah is not a word for a judge: I am no felon, neither ought you to menace the priſoner at the bar. For I ſtand here as arraigned for my life and liberty, and the preſervation of my wife and children and outward eſtate: Therefore I have a right to be fully heard, what I can ſay in my own defence, according to law; and I hope the court will bear with me, if I take the freedom to aſſert my liberty as an Engliſhman and a chriſtian; if I ſpeak loud, it is from zeal for the truth; and mine innocency makes me bold. Let me ſee my accuſer, that I may know for what cauſe I have been ſix weeks impriſoned, and do not put me to accuſe myſelf by aſking me queſtions. Let my accuſer come forth, or elſe diſcharge me by proclamation, as you ought to do.

Judge Twiſden. We take no notice of your being here, otherwiſe than as of a ſtraggler, or as of any other perſon, or of the people that are here this day; for we may tender the oath to any man.

neſt men, merely for a religious ſcruple to take an oath, by the ſevereſt law he could take hold of; and which without any real occaſion he put to them, becauſe he knew for conſcience-ſake they could not take it, in order to criminate them, and put it out of their power to ſeek juſtice for their falſe impriſonment, if they had been ſo inclined: Whether was a greater enormity to refuſe taking an oath, or to take oaths, and afterwards pay no regard to the obligation thereof? I ſuppoſe that taken by a judge muſt be to do juſtice, without favour or affection, enmity or ill-will, without reſpect of perſons; which, how far this was regarded in this trial, let the reader judge. Judge's Oath, —"You ſhall do equal law and execution of right to all his "ſubjects, rich and poor, without having regard to any per-"ſon."

man. This was ſeconded by another judge: And the chief judge, in the proceſs of the trial, expreſſed himſelf thus: We look not upon what you are here for; but finding you here, we tender you the oath. CHAP. V. 1662.

The judges perſiſting in the oath being adminiſtered, John Crook enquired by what law they had power to tender it? and was anſwered by the third of King James; John Crook demurring, deſired the ſtatute might be read, that it might appear upon what occaſion, and againſt whom it was made, but this would not be admitted, and his objection was over-ruled.

The priſoners were remanded to priſon, and brought into court again next day, when they were demanded again to take the oath; but ſtill inſiſting on the plea that they ought to be firſt tried and convicted upon the cauſe of their impriſonment, the judge was provoked to tranſgreſs the bounds of decency ſo far, as to call John Crook a ſaucy and impudent fellow. 2d. day.

In the afternoon of the ſame day they were again brought to the bar, and a new indictment for refuſing to take the oath of allegiance having been drawn up, they were required to plead to it, guilty, or not guilty; to which objecting, as not being ſatisfied whether they ought to plead to a created offence, and thereby acquieſce in the introduction of a precedent of an unuſual proceeding in courts of judicature, and dangerous to the liberty of the ſubject; as alſo whether their pleading would not deprive them of the benefit of the law, and quaſhing the indictment, or making exceptions againſt it; and being informed it would not, they pleaded in ſuch form as their ſcrupulous conſciences would permit, that they were not

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not guilty of what was falſe in the indictment, which was the ſubſtance thereof; which at laſt was accepted.

3d day's trial.

Next day being brought to their trial, the jury, who had been preſent, and witneſſes of the previous proceedings, were diſcharged; a new jury was empannelled (as was ſaid) on purpoſe for their trial. In this jury were divers ſoldiers, ſome of whom had been actually concerned in offering illegal violence to this ſociety, by haling ſome out of their meetings or out of their houſes. So that they had no better quarter to expect from their jury than their judges; the indictment being read, they moved to have the trial put off till next quarter ſeſſions, to traverſe the indictment, it being long and in Latin, and like to be a precedent, and that having no copy of the indictment till that morning, and then ſuddenly hurried down to the ſeſſions, they were neither allowed time to adviſe with counſel, nor to be prepared (as to matter of law) to plead in their own defence. To this reaſonable requeſt the judge replied, We have given you time enough, and you ſhall have no more, for we will try you at this time, therefore ſwear the jury. The priſoners remonſtrating againſt the ſwearing of the jury till this point was properly diſcuſſed, and they were heard in their own defence, the court fell into confuſion, during which the priſoners were hurried about in conſequence of the confuſed orders of the court to the officers; ſome crying, take them away; others, ſtay, let them alone; ſome to put them in the bale-dock; others within the fartheſt bar, whither they were thruſt accordingly: during this confuſion and uproar ſome cried, go on to ſwear the jury, which the crier ſeemed to be about; but

First jury diſcharged, and a new jury picked for their trial.

The priſoners move for time to traverſe the indictment, and are refuſed.

but ſuch was the tumult in court and diſtance of the priſoners, that they could not diſtinctly tell what was doing: during the confuſion alſo the evidence (they ſuppoſed) was given, that they refuſed to take the oath, which they had not poſitively done: Theſe arbitrary proceedings occaſioning the priſoners, with juſt reaſon, to complain; the executioner, as often as they attempted to ſpeak, was ordered to ſtop their mouths, which he repeatedly did with a dirty cloth; and having a gag in his hand, endeavoured to gag John Crook and others. Upon this they cried out, Will you not give us leave to ſpeak? we except againſt ſome of the jury, as being our enemies, and of thoſe who by force commanded us to be pulled out of our meetings, and carried us to priſon without warrant or legal proceſs; and muſt theſe be our judges? we except againſt them.

The jury ſworn and evidence given out of hearing of the priſoners.

Threatened to be gagged.

Judge. It is too late now, you ſhould have done it before they had been ſworn jurymen. Jury, go together, that which you have to find is, whether they have refuſed to take the oath, which hath been ſworn before you that they did: you need not go from the bar. The like ſaid the recorder and others, the confuſion and noiſe continuing, and ſeveral ſpeaking together.

The priſoners demanded their privilege to make their defence before the jury brought in their verdict, but this was refuſed them, the chief judge having remarked, that "if the Quakers had li-" berty to ſpeak, they would make themſelves " famous, and their judges odious;" inſtead of guarding the ſubjects rights, they had recourſe to their uſual exclamation, "Stop their mouths, executioner," which he did with his dirty cloth,

The priſoners demand to be heard, refuſed.

as

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as before. Yet when the jury was ordered to give in their verdict, John Crook took the opportunity to expreſs himſelf finally thus, "Let me "have liberty firſt to ſpeak, it is but few words, "and I hope I ſhall do it with what brevity and "pertinency my underſtanding will give me "leave, and the occaſion requires; it is to the "point of theſe two heads, *matter of law, and* "*matter of conſcience.* To matter of law I have "this to ſay, the ſtatute by which you proceed "againſt us was made againſt papiſts, occaſioned "by the gun-powder plot, and is entitled, for "the better diſcovery and ſuppreſſing of popiſh "recuſants; but they have liberty, and we are "deſtroyed, what in you lies," (this pinch produced an interruption from the court) "As to "conſcience, I have ſomething to ſay, it is a "tender thing, and we have known what it is "to offend it; and therefore we dare not break "Chriſt's command, who ſaid, *ſwear not at all*; "as alſo the apoſtle James's, *above all things, my* "*brethren, ſwear not.*" Interrupted again with "executioner, ſtop his mouth." Then the judge called to hear the jury, who ſaid ſomething which the priſoners could not hear, but was ſuppoſed to be giving in the verdict according to the judges' orders, for they were fit for the purpoſe, having ſeemingly agreed upon their verdict, before they heard the priſoner's defence.

Then ſilence being proclaimed, the recorder taking a paper in his hand, read to the following purpoſe, viz.

Sentence of premunire.

"The jury for the king do find that John "Crook, John Bolton, and Iſaac Grey, are "guilty of refuſing to take the oath of allegiance, "for which you do incur a premunire, which is

"the

" the forfeiture of all your real eſtates during " life, and your perſonal eſtates for ever, and " you to be out of the king's protection, and to " be impriſoned during his pleaſure. And this " is your ſentence." John Crook replied, " We " are ſtill under God's protection." CHAP. V. 1662.

The Court was adjourned, and the priſoners remanded to Newgate.

Such a mockery of juſtice as this trial exhibits, I truſt, for the reputation and honour of the nation, our hiſtory affords few or no inſtances at this day. It demonſtrates, beyond the power of all apologies to palliate, that the government of England at this æra, was as arbitrary to the diſſenters in general, and particularly the quakers, as any other abſolute government whatſoever. We are here preſented with an inſtance of natural-born ſubjects, who had violated no duty, committed no crime, contrived no ſedition, neither broken the peace, nor diſturbed the government, deprived of their birth-right in the charters of the Engliſhman's liberty, confirmed by the moſt binding ratifications, as the perpetual and inviolable privileges of the people of England. Magna charta and the petition of rights infringed;—ſubjects illegally impriſoned: brought to trial, and no crime charged upon them: The court of judicature turned into an inquiſition to make them criminate themſelves, and to deprive them of the means of demanding legal ſatisfaction for injury ſuſtained: Perſons of property abuſed, not allowed to ſpeak in their own defence; ſtripped at once of their perſonal liberty and all their property; time to traverſe the indictment till the next ſeſſions refuſed men upon trial for their liberty and property, although ordinarily granted Remark.

in

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in caſe of treſpaſs to the value of 5s. the errors whereof were ſufficient to quaſh it: Juſt exceptions to jurymen evaded by artifice. And all this only becauſe they could not reverence the devices of biſhops and convocations as goſpel, or blindly devote themſelves to the inſtructions of a prieſthood, who were, for the major part, themſelves more devoted to the court, to a party, and to their own intereſt and preferment, than to the pure miniſtry of the goſpel; and becauſe they durſt not diſobey the command of Chriſt.

Priſoners' eſtates ſeized.

Immediately after the aforeſaid unjuſt and ſevere ſentence was paſſed, the priſoners' eſtates were ſeized on. During their impriſonment,

John Crook draws up a narrative of the trial.

John Crook drew up a narrative of their trial, and committed it to the preſs, that the king and the nation might not be ignorant of the meaſures now purſued, and their tendency to deſpotiſm and the ruin of the ſubject; which narrative is preſerved at length in Sewel's Hiſtory, p. 358, &c. and Beſſe's Collection of Sufferings, p. 369, &c. from which the foregoing abridged account is abſtracted. On the 23d of the following month (as was ſuppoſed by order from the king) they

Priſoners ſet at liberty.

were ſet at liberty by the jailer; but two days afterward, John Bolton and Iſaac Grey were taken again by the jailer's ſervants, and carried back to priſon; (John Crook being gone to the country and not to be found) how long they were detained there, or how or when diſcharged, we have no account.

It was one argument advanced by George Whitehead, in his pleading againſt the late act, that as there were divers laws before, whereby the Quakers were brought under grievous ſufferings, as this particularly of 3. Jac. for the oath of

of allegiance, &c. and that therefore to make a new law, particularly pointed at them on that account, was not only ſuperfluous, but adding grievance to grievance upon a body of people already under heavy oppreſſion, againſt whom nothing worthy of ſuffering had been proved. And ſeeing in the firſt ſucceeding inſtance, the new law was not enforced; but an old law made againſt popiſh recuſants, and them only, perverted to the puniſhment of innocent men, while thoſe againſt whom it was made, were left unmoleſted and encouraged. It ſeems the legiſlature and miniſters of the law had no meaning by new laws to ſuperſede the old, or let them lie dormant; but to keep them all in force, in order to perſecute in the ſevereſt manner all ranks of this people.

Reflection on the hardſhips attending this ſociety, and their conſtancy under them.

Such was the diſpoſition of thoſe who had the power in their hands at this time, the biſhops, the legiſlature, judges, juſtices, eccleſiaſticks and laicks to extirpate this ſociety; that under the preſſure of afflictions and calamities the moſt feelingly diſtreſſing to mankind, and the apprehenſion of more to come, there ſeemed for them no human help; yet truſting in that divine Being, for the ſerving and obeying of whom in the ſincerity of their hearts, they were perſecuted, and ſupported through all by the teſtimony of an approving conſcience, they firmly bore the utmoſt malice of their perſecutors without ſhrinking; by their conſtancy they even wearied them out, and at laſt by patient ſuffering attained quietude; but at preſent they were only at the beginning of ſorrows; they had many cloſe trials of their faith, and a long fight of afflictions to ſuſtain, before their patience could get the better of the reſentments and virulence of their adverſaries.

Neither

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Neither is this a ſingular caſe, but ſeems, on account of the ſeverity of the penalty, a preconcerted mode of proceeding at preſent and ſeveral years after, frequently adopted againſt ſuch of this body as appeared moſt conſiderable for their ſervices or eſtates, contrary to equity or reaſonable conſtruction of law, to apply a partial law for the better diſcovery of popiſh recuſants, in conſequence of a deſperate enterprize concerted by ſome of that claſs only, at the diſtance of two reigns [d], to the puniſhment of men the moſt remote from that denomination, and who neither had, nor, I believe, were even ſuſpected to have any concern in any plot whatever.

Trial of Robert Smith at Worceſter for refuſing to take the oath of allegiance.

[e] In the next month at the aſſizes of Worceſter, Robert Smith was likewiſe indicted for refuſing to take the oath of allegiance, having been impriſoned in like manner with thoſe before mentioned; and when he was brought to the bar, demanded alſo the cauſe of his impriſonment for five or ſix weeks, in reply to the judge's enquiry, "When did you take the oath of allegiance?" The judge's anſwer was, "I meddle "not with your impriſonment, but finding you "here, I tender you the oath of allegiance; will "you take it or no? I tell you the danger that "will follow: You will incur a premunire, and "forfeit your eſtate to the King.

R. Smith. Who was that law made for, the papiſts or us?

Judge. For both.

R. Smith. Why then is it not tendered to them, as well as us?

Judge. They have taken it already.

R. Smith.

[d] Beſſe. [e] Beſſe.

1662.

R. Smith. Suppoſe I find ſome papiſts, or popiſhly affected, on the bench, ſhall it be done to them?

Judge. They have done it already.

R. Smith. Let us and the people ſee, that we may be ſatisfied.

Judge. Will you take the oath or not? Otherwiſe we will record your refuſal, and call you again to-morrow, and on your ſecond refuſal record it alſo, and paſs ſentence of premunire upon you.—Accordingly the next day the like ſentence was paſſed upon him, as J. Crook and companions, to which he replied, "The Lord gives, "and if he permits to take away, the will of the "Lord be done."

Sentence of premunire paſſed upon him.

Thus with chriſtian meekneſs and patient reſignation to the divine will, R. Smith received the ſevere ſentence of premunire, under which he lay cloſe confined in priſon near ten years. About three days after ſentence given, the ſheriff made a ſeizure of his perſonal eſtate for the king, and took an inventory of the ſame to the minuteſt article.

Under which he is continued a priſoner near ten years.

Thomas Stordy being at Carliſle aſſizes, went to viſit ſome of his friends in priſon there, where he was illegally detained by the jailer; and the next day he, with Stephen Pearſon, then a priſoner, was taken to the ſeſſions' houſe, where the oath of allegiance was tendered to them, which they refuſing, were ſent back to jail among the felons. Next day they were indicted on the aforeſaid ſtatute of 3. Jac. and had the ſentence of premunire paſt upon them. Soon after the ſheriff ſeized their corn, cattle and other goods, and proclaimed a publick ſale of them, at which they were ſold far below the value, becauſe few

Thomas Stordy.

He and S. Pearſon indicted on the ſtat. 3. Jac. and premunired.

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cared to buy them, as eſteeming them no better than plunder: However, they were diſpoſed of and carried away, without any regard to the priſoners or their families; nor would the ſheriff, upon application, even allow any thing to the poor labourers, who had been employed in gathering in the corn, and the price of whoſe labour lay therein, as their employers, now plundered of their all, were diſabled from paying them. Under this hard ſentence, they were continued cloſe priſoners ſeveral years, enduring their heavy ſuffering with exemplary patience, being under their afflictions ſupported by the teſtimony of a good conſcience, in their obedience to the precept of Chriſt, *Swear not at all.*

John King and others appearing to anſwer a proceſs for not attending the national worſhip, are proſecuted and premunired on the ſaid ſtatute.

* At the quarter ſeſſions at Hertford in October this year, John King, Richard Thomas, Abraham Rutt and Henry Sweeting, appeared to anſwer a proceſs againſt them for abſence from the national worſhip, when one of the juſtices, a counſellor, made an invective againſt the Quakers and their meetings, as dangerous and formidable, whereupon the bench let the firſt proceſs ſtop, and tendered them the oath of allegiance on the firſt day of the ſeſſions, giving them time till next morning to conſider whether they would take it or not; telling them, that if they refuſed they would incur a premunire. Next morning they appeared again, and refuſing to take it, they were immediately indicted, found guilty, and had ſentence of premunire paſſed upon them.—Under this cruel ſentence they were returned to priſon, and cloſe confined during a ſharp winter, whereby their health was much impaired. At the

* Beſſe.

1662.

the ſame ſeſſions an order was iſſued to the ſheriff to ſeize all the lands, tenements, goods and chattels of the priſoners; the execution of which order was prevented by timely application to the King, and the priſoners, after thirty-one weeks confinement, were releaſed by the King's warrant.

Their lands &c. ſeized, but on application to the King reſtored, and their liberty alſo.

In Suſſex, Ambroſe Rigge was committed to priſon, indicted next aſſizes, tried immediately, and ſentence of premunire paſſed upon him, by which he was adjudged to loſe all his lands and tenements during life, his goods and chattels for ever, and ſuffer impriſonment during the King's pleaſure. Upon that ſentence he was kept in priſon ten years and four months.

Ambroſe Rigge.

To recite all the hard and illicit treatment this ſociety met with by the miſapplication of this law, and how many of them ſuffered the loſs of all their ſubſtance, perſonal liberty and protection of law, by premunires during the preſent year, would carry me far beyond my bounds, and might diſguſt the reader in a tedious detail of ſimilar caſes. But the treatment of Thomas Goodyear and Benjamin Staples at the quarter ſeſſions at Oxford in the preceding year demands particular notice. After receiving the ſentence of premunire on the like account, Thomas Goodyear, who was brought like a common malefactor with bolts on his legs, aſking the court, "Whether the jailer had orders to fetter him?" was anſwered, "the jailer may do as he will "with you, for you are out of the King's pro-"tection." The jailer, encouraged in obduracy (habitual, it is probable, in him) by the example of his ſuperiors, when he brought them back to priſon, told the other priſoners, "that if they

Thomas Goodyear and Benjamin Staples.

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" wanted clothes, they might take theirs off their " backs, for they can have no law againſt you :" But one of the priſoners humanely anſwered, *He would rather go naked than ſtrip honeſt men of their clothes*, who were ſtripped of all they had beſide.

CHAP. VI.

Several tried on the Act 35 Q. Elizabeth, in order to Baniſhment on pain of death.—George Fox preſents an Addreſs to the King, informing him of the Sufferings of his Friends.—Five hundred impriſoned in London, of whom many died.—Remarkable Petition to the Mayor.—Great Abuſes of the Soldiers and Trained Bands.—Particularly at the Bull and Mouth.—Seſſions at the Old Baily.—General Releaſe of Priſoners by Order of the King.—Perſecution continued.—Wheeler-ſtreet Meeting broken up.—The Aſſembly at Bull and Mouth ſhamefully abuſed, whereby many are grievouſly wounded, and one [John Trowell] dies of his Wounds. The Coroner's Inqueſt being empannelled to enquire into the Cauſe of his Death, decline bringing in a Verdict.—An Account of this Murder preſented to the King.—And to the Lord Mayor (ſo called)—The Author of the Narrative committed to Newgate.

CHAP. VI. 1662.

WHAT meaſures more arbitrary and inhuman could the utmoſt malice of man invent, ſhort of capital puniſhment, than thoſe now vainly purſued to exterminate this body of people. Nay, it may be a queſtion whether at once taking away

away their lives had not been a lighter punishment, than condemning men of repute, who had been inured to a comfortable way of living, on competent eſtates or by laudable induſtry, to languiſh out their days in noiſome jails; robbed of their property; they and their families reduced to want; deprived of all company, but the refuſe of mankind, and of every thing that makes life tolerable, except the teſtimony of a good conſcience, which their perſecutor's power could not reach. CHAP. VI. 1662.

Yet as if all this were not ſufficient to gratify the ill will of their enemies, it was even attempted at this time to bring their lives into danger. As we have juſt deſcribed the mode adopted for making men offenders againſt the firſt part of the late act, viz. the caſe of oaths, I proceed to the firſt trial I meet with upon the ſecond part thereof, the attendance of their religious aſſemblies. Theſe were not tried upon the late act, but upon that of 35 Elizabeth, as the more ſevere, and the ſevereſt they could lay hold of, becauſe it gave power to proceed to baniſhment and to endanger life at once; whereas by the latter they could not have that power till the third offence.

Several tried upon the act of 35 Eliz. in order to baniſhment on pain of death.

Several perſons, taken from their religious meetings and committed to the White-Lyon priſon, Southwark, after about nine weeks impriſonment, were brought to their trial before Richard Onſlow, preſident of the ſeſſions and others, and arraigned upon the following indictment.

" The jurors for our lord the King do pre-
" ſent upon their oath, that Arthur Fiſher, late
" of the pariſh of St. Olave in the borough of
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CHAP. V. 1662.

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" Nathaniel Robinſon of the ſame, yeoman; " John Chandler of the ſame yeoman, and others, " being wicked, dangerous and ſeditious ſecta- " ries, and diſloyal perſons, and above the age " of ſixteen years, who, on the 29th day of " June in the year of our Lord Charles the ſe- " cond, by the grace of God, King of England, " Scotland, France and Ireland, &c. the four- " teenth, have obſtinately refuſed; and every " one of them hath obſtinately refuſed to repair " unto ſome church, chapel, or uſual place of " common prayer, according to the laws and " ſtatutes of this kingdom of England, in the " like caſe ſet forth and provided, after forty " days next after the end of the ſeſſion of par- " liament begun and holden at Weſtminſter on " the 19th day of February in the year of our " Lady Elizabeth late Queen of England, the " thirty fifth, and there continued until the diſſo- " lution of the ſame, being the tenth day of " April in the 35th year above ſaid, to wit, on " the 3d day of Auguſt in the year of the reign " of the ſaid Charles King of England the four- " teenth abovеſaid in the pariſh of St. Olave " aforeſaid, in the borough of Southwark afore- " ſaid, in the county aforeſaid; of themſelves " did voluntarily and unlawfully join in and " were preſent at an unlawful aſſembly, con- " venticle and meeting at the ſaid pariſh of St. " Olave in the county aforeſaid, under colour " and pretence of the exerciſe of religion, againſt " the laws and ſtatutes of this kingdom of Eng- " land, in contempt of our ſaid Lord the King " that now is, his laws and to the evil and dan- " gerous example of all others in the like caſe, " offending againſt the peace of our ſaid Lord " the King that now is, his crown and dignity,

" and

" and contrary to the form of the ſtatute in the CHAP.
" ſame caſe ſet forth and provided." VI.

1662.

The indictment being read, the priſoners deſired to be tried by the late act of parliament againſt conventicles; but were anſwered they might try them by what law they would, that was in force. Then the priſoners deſired the act they were to be tried by might be read, viz. that of 35 of Elizabeth, which was done only in part. They obſerving, in regard thereto, that it was made in times of ignorance, whilſt the principles of the reformation, and of civil and religious rights, were not yet well underſtood, and that therefore they accounted themſelves unjuſtly dealt with, in having obſolete laws that had been long ſuffered to lie dormant, revived for the mere purpoſe of ſubjecting them to the heavieſt puniſhment that could be deviſed. The anſwer they received was a requiſition to plead to the indictment, and ſome not being haſty to anſwer, were haled out of court to priſon, as taken pro confeſſis. The reſt, being twenty in number, pleaded not guilty. The jury was called over, and they excepted againſt two, one of which was ſet aſide, having openly expreſſed his ill-will towards the Quakers: the witneſſes teſtified at moſt that in ſuch a place they took ſuch perſons, whoſe names were ſpecified in writing. In their defence againſt the facts charged in the indictment, they aſſerted, that whereas they were accuſed of being wicked, dangerous and ſeditious ſectaries, that was not true; for they were neither wicked nor ſeditious, but ſuch as endeavoured *to lead a peaceable and quiet life in godlineſs and honeſty.* For the truth whereof they durſt appeal to themſelves. And the charge of not

CHAP. VI. 1662.

not coming to hear the common prayer was highly prepoſterous, as the ſervice-book was not quite printed ſeveral weeks after the ſaid 29th of June, and what crime could it be, not to go hear that which at that time, was not to be heard any where. The court was conſiderably embarraſſed by this, and other pinching reaſons advanced by the priſoners, ſome of whom were men of abilities and literature, to that degree that the judge was at a loſs to anſwer them only by ſhifts and evaſions. When the jury went out to conſider of their verdict, one of them was heard to ſay, as they were going up, *Here is a deal to do indeed, to condemn a company of innocent men.*

After ſome time they returned, and brought in their verdict guilty in part, and not guilty in part; but this verdict would not be accepted; ſo being ſent out again, prevailing upon one another, they ſoon returned and declared the priſoners guilty. Whereupon judge Onſlow pronounced the following ſentence: "That they "ſhould return to priſon, and there continue "three months without bail or mainprize, after "which time, if they recanted not, they muſt "abjure the realm, or be proceeded againſt as "felons."

Juſt before paſſing the ſentence, the judge ſignified there was a means to eſcape the penalty, viz. "ſubmiſſion;" that is, "to come to com-"mon prayer, and refrain their meetings." To which giving their reaſons for the refuſal of both, he ſaid, "then you muſt abjure the "land." It being remarked that *abjure* meant *to forſwear*, one of the juſtices ſcoffingly added, "*and you can't ſwear at all;*" either barbarouſly ſporting

ſporting himſelf in other mens' miſery, or wantonly exulting in the proſpect, that they muſt of courſe incur the penalties of felony. CHAP. VI. 1662.

At a ſeſſions at the ſame place on the 11th of November, thirteen more of the priſoners were brought to the bar, and indicted as before; five of them pleading not guilty, were tried, convicted and ſentenced as the former; the other eight ſeeing the court ſo partial that a fair hearing could not be expected, refuſed to plead and were ſent back to priſon.

It hath been before remarked, that the inſtances of enforcing this law were not many, nor equally encouraged with other modes of proſecution, as the full enforcing thereof muſt terminate in public executions, and it is likely, the miniſters and principal promoters of theſe ſeverities did not chuſe to incur the odium or the guilt of inflicting capital puniſhment merely for religion, as there had been few precedents ſince the reformation, except where ſome pretext of treaſon or ſedition could be picked up to palliate the ſeverity: Yet the juſtices and inferior magiſtrates, being moſt of them inveſted with authority on account of their bitterneſs againſt nonconformiſts, ſeemed diſpoſed in ſome caſes to put this ſtatute fully in force, but for the intervention of higher authority. It was however kept alive, and repeated menaces thrown out of enforcing it in terrorem; but the proceedings thereon generally terminated in arbitrary impriſonment, frequently till a releaſe came by proclamation or pardon; a puniſhment ſevere enough.

Such

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1662.

G. Fox preſents an addreſs to the King, informing him of the ſufferings of his friends.

Such was the univerſality of party rage at this time againſt this people, that they were left unmoleſted in few or no parts of the nation. George Fox, in an addreſs to the king, acquaints him that three thouſand and ſixty-eight of their friends had been impriſoned ſince his reſtoration; that their meetings were daily broken up by men with clubs and arms, their friends thrown into the water, * and trampled under foot till the blood guſhed out. Another narrative was printed, ſigned by twelve witneſſes, relating that upwards of four thouſand two hundred of thoſe called Quakers, both men and women, were in priſon, ſpecifying the number in each county, and upon what account. Many of theſe had been grievouſly abuſed with beatings, tearing their clothes, and taking them away. Some put into ſuch noiſome priſons as were owned not fit for dogs. Some priſons ſo crowded that the priſoners had not room to ſit down all together. In Cheſhire ſixty-eight perſons were thus locked up in a ſmall room. No age or ſex found any commiſeration from the ill-principled magiſtrates of this reign. Men of ſixty, ſeventy or more years of age, were without pity or remorſe ſubjected

* About the 3d of October, 1660, a conſtable and others armed with pitchforks, bills, ſtaves and ſuch like weapons, entered a meeting at Steventon in Berkſhire, pulled out Thomas Curtis and threw him into a pond, tearing his coat in pieces: With the like barbarity they uſed ſeveral others, ſparing neither age nor ſex. One of them was trodden on and kept down in the water till ſome of their own company cried out, *you'll drown the man.* After which they drove the innocent people along the highway, inhumanly abuſing and bemiring them. This abuſe was ſaid to be given them at the inſtigation of a drunken prieſt, who being told, *that his weapons ought to be ſpiritual*, replied that *he would fight the Quakers with ſuch weapons as he had.*

jected to all the rigours of such imprisonments under the infirmities of a natural decline; many times they were forced to lie on the cold ground, without being permitted the use of straw, and kept many days without victuals. No wonder that many grew sick and died by such barbarous imprisonments as these.

Five hundred imprisoned in London, of whom many died.

In London and its suburbs were no fewer than five hundred imprisoned at this time, and some in such narrow holes that every person had scarcely convenient room to lie down; and the felons were suffered to rob them of their clothes and money. In consequence many grew sick, and some died. Amongst them were many poor men, whose families were exposed to want, their customers lost and their trades ruined; those multiplied hardships, which moved little or no compassion in magistrates, who seem steeled against all the feelings of men, were so sensibly felt with true brotherly affection and sympathy by several of their fellow-members, that about thirty of them, who were at liberty, presented a petition to the mayor and sheriffs of London, offering themselves, if no other means of relief could be found, to lie in prison instead of the sick and the poorest of the prisoners, that they might have liberty to go about their necessary occasions for a few weeks to retrieve their business, and rescue themselves and families from impending ruin; which though not so legal as to be accepted, yet demonstrates the affection of those that made the offer, and conveyed to the magistrates such a lively representation of the disastrous consequences of their mercileſs usage, as must have inclined men, who had the least remains of humanity left, to mitigate the severity

Petition to the mayor.

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rity of their proceedings, but with the men now in authority it had no ſuch effect.

Thoſe who were left at liberty had but a very precarious enjoyment thereof, being daily in danger of following their friends to priſon for the ſame cauſe, keeping up their religious aſſemblies from a religious perſuaſion of duty to their Maker; yet whilſt they were at liberty, they were not ſuffered to be at eaſe, the ſoldiers and trained-bands, by the encouragement of the magiſtracy, were let looſe upon them, to beat, to bruiſe, to wound them nigh unto, and even quite unto death; ſo that in the city of London, and divers other parts, the treatment of this people bore more the appearance of the French dragoonings of thoſe called Hugonots, than the metropolis of England, entitled to the privilege of a conſtitution limited to legal rule; and looks as if, by accumulated abuſes, they deſigned to provoke them to ſome act of reſiſtance, which might furniſh a pretence for proceeding againſt them as rioters and ſeditious, which when they could not do, they termed their peaceable meetings riots, and thereupon indicted and puniſhed the attenders as ſuch.

Great abuſes of the ſoldiers and trained bands.

The meeting, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Bull and Mouth, being near the center of the city, was particularly expoſed to the tumultuous intruſions of theſe diſturbers of the peace (for they were employed for no other purpoſe, by magiſtrates who were bound by their office and oaths to preſerve it.) To this meeting the ſoldiers came ſeveral firſt days ſucceſſively, with muſkets, lighted matches, pikes and halberts, conducted by a military officer, with his ſword drawn in one hand and a cane in the other; they

Particularly at the Bull and Mouth.

they uſually made their entrance with violent ruſhing and uproar to terrify the aſſembly, commanding the people aſſembled to be gone; which when they were not haſty to do, as believing themſelves in the way of their duty, and thoſe who gave the command inveſted with no legal authority; then they began the ſhameful attack with their canes and clubs upon the unreſiſting people, unmanfully beating women as well as men, for they ſpared no age nor ſex, but laid on their blows with great force, not only wounding their bodies with their blows, but their ears with ſcoffs, menaces, oaths and imprecations, and threatening *to fire at them;* this treatment they continued at one time about two hours, ſtriking them with ſwords, ſtaves and the buts of their muſkets, and haling them out of doors; by ſuch violence many were grievouſly wounded, ſome fainted away, and ſome ſurvived it but a ſhort time.

When they had wearied themſelves by theſe acts of violence, they generally added the preacher, if they found one, and as many of the hearers as they thought fit, to the number already impriſoned.

Seſſions at the Old Bailey.

On the 12th, 13th and 14th days of the month called Auguſt, the ſeſſions were held again at the Old Bailey, to which, numbers of the Quakers were brought as malefactors through the ſtreets, ſometimes twelve ſometimes twenty in a company. This ſeemed to turn the tide of the public temper into compaſſion, the people exclaiming as they paſſed along, "Ah! what woeful days "are theſe! what pity it is that ſuch honeſt "people with ſuch good countenances ſhould "be haled up and down to courts and priſons?"

Their

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Their trials were conducted in the accuſtomed manner; the bench and jury prepared to convict them, the witneſſes, thoſe men who ought to have been ſubſtituted in their places for breach of the peace, being moſtly the officers who had commanded the party that had abuſed them, called as witneſſes againſt the very perſons whom themſelves alſo had ſtricken and dragged out of their meetings with violence: it was remarked that theſe witneſſes heſitated, and even contradicted themſelves: one being aſked by the judge, "Are "you certain theſe are the perſons you took at 'that meeting," replied, "My lord, I don't "know the faces of the men, but theſe mens' "names I have in a note here." Yet ſuch was the temper of the court and of the jury, that this defective evidence was accepted as ſufficient to convict them; upon which they were ſentenced in fines, ſome one hundred marks, ſome twenty pounds, and others in leſs ſums, and committed again till they ſhould pay the fines. Againſt ſeveral no evidence appeared, yet they were not diſcharged, but ſent back to priſon with the reſt.

General releaſe of priſoners.

It was not long however before they met with an unexpected releaſe, for before the end of the month the King was pleaſed to grant them a general amneſty, by an order to the mayor, to the following purport: "That whereas di-"vers perſons going under the name of Qua-"kers, and other names of ſeparation, were im-"priſoned for being at unlawful meetings, yet "did profeſs all obedience to him, and it was "hoped that for the time to come ſome of the "ſaid people would conform themſelves; and "upon the occaſion of his royal conſort's com-

"ing

" ing to his palace at Whitehall, he would have " them diſcharge and enlarge all the ſaid people " out of the jails of London and Middleſex, ex- " cepting ſuch as had been indicted for refuſing " the oaths of allegiance, or were ringleaders or " preachers among them."

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In purſuance of this order all that had been committed by Sir Richard Brown and others were releaſed, and the jails of London and Middleſex almoſt entirely cleared of Quakers, a few only excepted; but in a ſhort time were filled again, for the King's mandate for their releaſe gave little or no interruption to the perſecuting meaſures carried on againſt them. Their meetings continued to be diſturbed in like manner as is before related, even with an additional degree of violence.

Perſecution continued.

The very next day after the publication of the King's letter the meeting at Wheeler-ſtreet was broken up in the ſame abuſive manner, and nine perſons taken and ſent to New-priſon, whence after a detention of twelve days they were releaſed. The ſame day Sir Richard Brown, in company with ſome military officers, meeting a perſon in the ſtreet going about his lawful occaſions, who had been diſcharged from Newgate the day before by the King's letter, called out, *There's a Quaker, take him up and carry him to the counter*, which by his attendants was accordingly done; and he, thus arbitrarily committed, was detained for ſome time.

Wheeler-ſtreet meeting broken up.

On the laſt day of the month called Auguſt, when the meeting at Bull and Mouth was near breaking up, Major-general Brown with a party of men entered the meeting-houſe, with their ſwords drawn, in a manner rude and terrifying beyond

The aſſembly at the Bull and Mouth ſhamefully abuſed.

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beyond expreſſion, and ordering *the doors to be made faſt*, fell upon the aſſembly with their ſwords and cudgels in ſuch an unmerciful and unmanly manner, without regard to age or ſex, cutting, bruiſing and levelling thoſe before them, as carried an appearance of open hoſtility, beyond what had ever been ſeen in a time of peace. Six or eight together being knocked down were dragged out, and lay in the kennels ſenſeleſs, helpleſs, and ſeemingly half dead with the wounds and bruiſes they had received, their blood lying viſible in the ſtreets, ſo that the paſſengers and ſpectators, compaſſionating this abuſe of unoffending people, cried out, Shame upon the perpetrators, that ſuch a reſemblance of maſſacre ſhould be committed in the ſtreets of London; ſome of whom, for their compaſſionate expreſſions, felt their ſhare of the like treatment. The ſoldiers being aſked, why they could be ſo cruel to their neighbours? One of them anſwered, Nay, we are more merciful than we ought to be, for we have orders to kill; and that his muſquet was double charged, as moſt of thoſe of the party were to his knowledge*.

In conſequence of this barbarous treatment ſeveral were ready to faint through loſs of blood; many

* This looks as if ſome of the perſecutors had ſuffered their ſpirits to be imbittered to ſo intemperate a degree as to thirſt for blood, as intending by this cruel uſage to provoke ſome of this body to ſome act of reſiſtance, and then make it a pretext for carnage and maſſacre. But I own myſelf at a loſs to conceive what motive (except inſatiable malice) any could have even to meditate ſuch cruelty, which no attempts of this body, nor any ſecurity to government gave the leaſt ſhadow of occaſion for.

many ſo diſabled as to keep their beds ſome time; one man ſo wounded in the head that his brains were ſaid to be viſible, and being immediately taken to a ſurgeon, his life was thought to be in the utmoſt danger; and one John Trowel actually dying by the wounds and bruiſes he received there, it was judged expedient that his dead body ſhould be conveyed to the meeting room at Bull and Mouth, where he received the violence which occaſioned his death, for public inſpection. The coroner being called, empanelled a jury of the neighbours, and gave them the uſual charge, to make true enquiry, and preſent upon their oaths what they found to be the cauſe of his death. The jury accordingly viewed the body, with a ſurgeon or two attending them. It was evident the man was murdered by ſome or other of the trained bands; but as in the confuſed crowd the particular man who murdered him could not be pointed out, the jury deſired his friends to inter the corps, and departed without bringing in a verdict, alledging as their reaſon, that if they brought in a verdict of wilful murder, and the murderer could not be found, the city would be liable to a fine; the verdict was therefore ſuſpended, and the buſineſs dropped. An account of that day's barbarity and this perſon's murder was preſented to the king by one of thoſe called Quakers, to whom the king expreſſed, "I aſſure you it was not by my advice "that any of your friends ſhould be ſlain; you "muſt tell the magiſtrates of the city of it, and "proſecute the law againſt them;" but to what purpoſe, whilſt the magiſtrates of the city and miniſters of juſtice were ranking themſelves

One man dies of his wounds.

The coroner's inqueſt declines bringing in a verdict.

An account of the murder preſented to the King,

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and to the mayor, for which the author was impriſoned.

in the number of their profeſſed enemies. The mayor was by letter duly apprized of this tranſaction; but giving no redreſs, the ſaid letter, with a narrative of theſe grievous abuſes, was printed and publiſhed, for which the author was committed to Newgate by Brown, for diſperſing ſcandalous papers, as he was pleaſed to call them.

7 AP 59

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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ERRATUM.

Page 30, line 6, for *brother* read *ſon*.

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